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A HISTORY

OF THE

ROYAL NAVY,

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE WARS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

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EMBARKATION OF KING HENRY VIII AT DOVER 31 MAY, 1520.

PREPARATORY TO HIS INTERVIEW WITH FRANCIS I.

A HISTORY

OF THE

ROYAL NAVY,

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE WARS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

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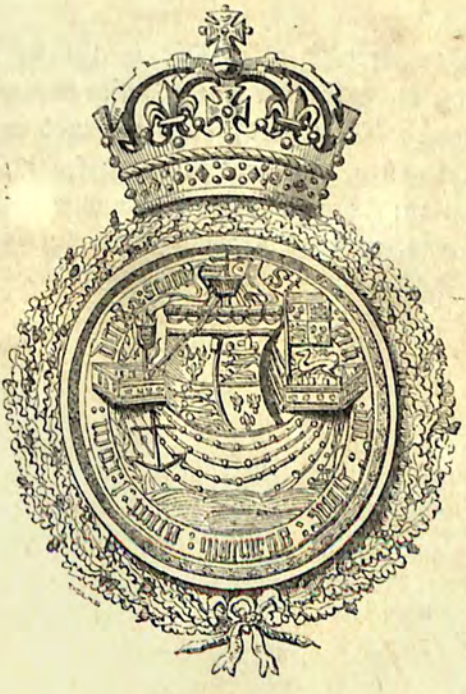
BY

SIR NICHOLAS HARRIS NICOLAS, G.C.M.G.



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THE SECOND VOLUME.

LONDON:

RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET,

Publisher in Ordinary to Her Majesty.

M.DCCC.XLVII.

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Nic/His
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The King's Navy exceeds all others in the world for three things, viz. beauty, strength, and safety. For beauty, they are so many Royal palaces; for strength, so many mobing castles and barbicans; and for safety, they are the most defensibe walls of the Realm. Amongst the Ships of other Nations, they are like lions amongst silly beasts, or falcons amongst fearful fowle.

LORD COKE'S FOURTH INSTITUTE.

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HISTORY OF THE ROYAL NAVY.

CHAPTER I.

ACCESSION OF KING EDWARD THE THIRD.—SHIPS EMPLOYED IN THE SCOTTISH WAR.—SIEGE OF BERWICK.—DANGER OF INVASION.—QUARRELS OF ENGLISH SEAMEN.—ASSERTION OF THE KING'S DOMINION OF THE SEA.—PORTSMOUTH BURNT BY THE FRENCH.—SEVERAL SQUADRONS SENT TO SEA.—CADSAND TAKEN.—THE KING'S EXPEDITION TO FLANDERS.—SOUTHAMPTON SACKED.—CAPTURE OF THE "CHRISTOPHER" AND "EDWARD."—LONDON FORTIFIED.—BOULOGNE PARTLY BURNT.—PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS.—NAVAL SUBSIDIES.—EDWARD PROCEEDS TO FLANDERS WITH A LARGE FLEET.—BATTLE OF SLUYS.—THE KING'S DISPATCH AND ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE VICTORY TO PARLIAMENT.—REMARKS ON THE EVENT.—THE KING RETURNS TO ENGLAND.

THE name of EDWARD THE THIRD is more identified with the Naval glory of England than that of any other of her sovereigns; for, though the sagacious Alfred and the chivalrous Richard commanded fleets and defeated the enemy at sea, Edward gained in his own person two signal victories, fighting on one occasion until his ship actually sunk under him, and was rewarded by his subjects with the proudest title ever conferred upon a British monarch, "King of the Sea." But while the history of one part of Edward's reign is the brightest in our early annals, his exploits were followed by events which teach a lesson to this country of the highest value, and which was, perhaps, never more important than at this time, when a great nation is her

avowed rival on the ocean, with a long series of disasters to avenge.

Like the Nile, Camperdown, and Trafalgar, the battles of the Sluys and Les Espagnols sur Mer led the English to imagine that they were always to command the sea; and, notwithstanding the repeated warnings of the Commons in Parliament, the Navy was so entirely neglected, that France and Spain obtained, and for many years preserved, the maritime superiority. Defeats, if not disgrace, almost a total destruction of commerce, and, far worse, constant invasions of our shores, attended by rapine, bloodshed, and all other atrocities, were the consequences of this fatal error, which established, however, the momentous truth, that the honour, safety, greatness, and prosperity of England depend upon her Navy.

A. D. 1327. On the 6th of May 1327 all the northern ports were directed to furnish one or two ships for the King's service against the Scots, who were preparing to invade the realm with a large army. These vessels, which were to be of the burthen of sixty tons or upwards, well manned and provided with a double shipment, were to be sent to Yarmouth by the 18th of May, and to proceed thence at the King's expense under the orders of John Perbroun, who had been appointed admiral of the fleet north of the Thames on the 21st of April.[a] Authority was given on that occasion to Perbroun and his deputies to select forty ships, capable of carrying sixty tons of wine each, from the strongest and best in the ports on the eastern coast, which were to be well armed and stored; and he was

[a] Rot. Scot. I. 209, 211; Rot. Patent. 1 Edw. III. pt. II. m. 23.

also to impress sailors and others to serve in them.[a] A. D. 1327. One of the King's barges was also appointed to convoy ships carrying provisions and stores for the war in Scotland.[b] On the 24th of May, Waresius de Valoignes was made captain and admiral of the King's fleet, which consisted of ships belonging to the Cinque Ports and to other places westward of the Thames; and he was commanded to equip the ships as speedily as possible, and to proceed with them to Skinburness.[c] After a short and inglorious campaign, peace was A. D. 1328. made with Scotland on the 1st of March 1328.

Philip the Sixth having succeeded to the crown of France in February 1328, he called upon the young King of England to do homage to him for the Duchy of Guienne; and on the 8th of May 1329, ships were A. D. 1329. ordered to be ready at Dover for his passage, which were to be well provided with clays and other articles[d] for conveying horses. Edward sailed for Whitsand in a ship belonging to Winchelsea at noon on the 26th of May, attended by his Chancellor, Henry Bishop of Lincoln, and a large suite of nobles, bishops, and other clergy.[e] The homage was performed at Amiens on the 6th of June;[f] and Edward immediately returned to England,[g] landing at Dover on the 11th of that month.[h]

In March 1330 the Cinque Ports were called A. D. 1330. upon to find forty of their best and strongest ships

[a] Rot. Scot. I. 210. The expenses of Perbroun's fleet, with the names of the ships, is in the Roll marked "I. P. R. 205," at Carlton Ride.

[b] Rot. Scot. I. 211.

[c] Ibid. p. 212.

[d] Fœdera, II. 762; Rot. Patent. 1 Edw. III. pt. II. m. 23.

[e] Fœdera, II. 765.

[f] Froissart, ed. Buchon, I. 42, 43; Knyghton, col. 2555.

[g] Froissart, I. 43—45. Knyghton (2555) says, that Edward, having been informed of a design to detain him, secretly quitted France without Charles's knowledge.

[h] Fœdera, II. 765.

A. D. 1330. to convey the King's brother, John Earl of Cornwall, and his retinue, to Aquitaine; and the King's clerk, John le Smale, was empowered to choose the ships and conduct them to Plymouth.[a] Twenty ships were afterwards added to this fleet,[b] but the name of its captain or admiral is not stated.

A. D. 1331. On the 4th of April 1331 the King sailed from Dover for France, "like a merchant" on a pilgrimage to our Lady of Boulogne, to fulfil a vow which he had made in a moment of danger, and on other affairs; and he re-landed at Dover on the 20th of the same month.[c]

Except orders to provide ships for the passage of members of the royal family and of other eminent persons, no Naval proceeding again occurred until July

A. D. 1332. 1332, when the King intended to go to Ireland. On the 25th of that month, Anthony de Lucy, the justiciary of Ireland, was commanded to arrest all ships in the Irish ports, to take care that they were provided with bridges and clays, and to send them to Holyhead for the King's passage:[d] but the attempt of Baliol to recover his crown obliged Edward to abandon his intention, and to proceed in person to Scotland.

In August, Baliol, the Earl of Athol, the Lords Beaumont, Wake, Fitzwarine, and other English noblemen who claimed property in Scotland, sailed with three thousand men. They landed near Kinghorne,

[a] Fœdera, II. 784. Smale's account of his expenses is in the Roll marked "E. B. 383," at Carlton Ride.

[b] Ibid. p. 788.

[c] Anon. Hist. Edwardi Tertii, apud Hearne, 8vo. 1731, II. 397. Fœdera, II. 815, 818. It is singular that Hemingford (II. p. 270) should say that it was on this occasion that Edward performed homage for Gascony.

[d] Fœdera, II. 841.

where, it is said, ships had never before touched;[a] and A. D. 1332.
Baliol sent his fleet to the mouth of the Tay. After gaining the battle of Duplin-moor, on the 13th of August, Baliol hastened to St. John's of Perth, which surrendered to him. Siege was then laid to that town by the Earl of Dunbar and Sir Archibald Douglas; and they sent to Berwick for a celebrated Scottish sailor, called John Crabbe,[b] who had often done much injury to the English, to hasten to the Tay with all the ships he could collect, and ordered him to attack and burn Baliol's, or rather the English ships, and then to blockade St. John's of Perth. Crabbe arrived in the Tay Aug. 24th
with ten Flemish ships, well equipped for war, and immediately fell upon the English vessels, which were neither armed nor prepared.[c] They first boarded and carried Lord Beaumont's barge,[d] putting the whole crew to the sword; but all the other ships were defended in the most gallant manner, and the Scots, driven into the sea or slain, were completely defeated. The victors then set fire to the Scottish ships and to the barge their prize. Crabbe himself escaped with great difficulty, and returned to Berwick by land, where he gave a dolorous account of the affair, "which," says the chronicler, "happened, by the grace of God, on Saint Bartholomew's day (August 24th); and God worked all things for the English on that occasion."[e]

[a] Knyghton, 2560.

[b] Crabbe, who is called in the Chronicle of Lanercost (p. 270) "pirata crudelis et solemnis," had for many years harassed the English both by land and sea, and being taken prisoner, was sent to the King of England. In consequence of the ingratitude of his countrymen at the siege of Berwick, who refused to redeem him, and slew his son, he entered Edward's service, and became a bitter enemy of his own country. (Ibid.; Hemingford, II. 273.) It is remarkable how often the name of "Crabbe" occurs in Naval affairs.

[c] "improvisas et non armatas."

[d] "bargiam Bealmont."

[e] Knyghton, 2560, 2561; Hemingford, II. 273.

A. D. 1332. This narrative of the affair has been entirely derived from English writers; and, as they do not mention even the number of the English ships, still less their size and the amount of their crews, no opinion can be formed of the merits of the affair, which seems, however, to have been considered highly creditable to the conquerors.

A. D. 1333. On the 6th of April 1333 John Perbroun was appointed captain and admiral of the King's fleet for the Scottish war, with full power to punish and chastise all sailors and others in the fleet, and to impress four ships of war,[a] men, mariners, armour, and all other necessaries for the expedition.[b] On the same day, Henry Randolf of Great Yarmouth was likewise made captain and admiral of all ships in the King's service going to Scotland, with similar powers;[c] but it does not appear which of them was the superior officer, or that they commanded separate squadrons. Ravenrod and other ports were directed to furnish one or more ships of war,[d] which were to proceed to Newcastle-upon-Tyne;[e] and Bristol was ordered to fit out three ships to cruise for the defence
June. of the coast against the Scots.[f] In June the Warden of the Cinque Ports was commanded to arrest all vessels of fifty tons burthen and upwards, and to cause them to be armed and equipped with a double shipment for the defence of the realm, whenever the King should inform him, or the owners or masters[g] of the said ships, that they were wanted.[h] A similar

[a] "naves guerrinas."
[b] Rot. Scot. I. 226.
[c] Ibid.
[d] "navem de guerra."
[e] Rot. Scot. I. 228, 231, 232.
[f] Ibid. p. 233, 234, 235.
[g] "dominos vel magistros dictarum navium." "Dominus" certainly meant owners.
[h] Rot. Scot. I. 248.

mandate was issued to the mayors and bailiffs of all A. D. 1333.
the other sea-ports; and a clerk was sent to each of them, to survey the vessels therein, and to make a report of their number, sizes, and equipment.[a]

Keepers of the sea-coast were soon after appointed, who were to array armed men, and to take other measures for defending the realm from invasion by the Scots.[b] On the 16th of July Sir William Clinton was July.
made captain and admiral of the ships of the Cinque Ports, and of all other places from the Thames westward, to resist the invasion of "aliens."[c] At this time the King was besieging Berwick, which had fallen into the hands of the Scots, who burnt or sunk many English vessels; and a gallant Scot, called William Seton, while attacking those vessels, was drowned in the sight of his father from the walls of the town.[d] Another Scot, called Sir William Diket, coming to the relief of Berwick, boarded some English ships, slew sixteen men in a barge belonging to Hull,[e] and then entered the town. On the 19th of July Edward defeated the Scottish army at Halidon-hill; and the immediate fruits of this victory, to which he attached great importance,[f] was the surrender of Berwick. In August, the ships which were under arrest August.

[a] Rot. Scot. I. 248.

[b] Ibid. p. 249—252.

[c] Ibid. p. 254. The assistance which the Normans afforded the Scots is thus described by Minot, a contemporary versifier:—

"Thai sent thaire schippes on ilka side,
With flesch and wine, and whete and rye,
With hert and hand (es noght at hide),
For to helpe Scotland gan thai hye.
Thai fled, and durst no dede habide,
And all thaire fare noght wurth a flye."

[d] Fordun, II. 310.

[e] Extract from an old chronicle in the Harleian MS. 4690, printed by Ritson, in the "Illustrations to Minot's Poems."

[f] Rot. Scot. I. 257; Fœdera, II. 867.

A. D. 1333. in the English ports were permitted to sail on their own affairs, provided they did not injure foreign merchants or others at sea, whence war or other evils might arise.[a]

A. D. 1334. The defeat of the Scots at Halidon-hill did not however put an end to hostilities; and in September 1334, ships of war and barges from various ports were again ordered to proceed to Scotland,[b] some of which were sent against Scottish ships that were cruising off the coast of Scotland to intercept vessels carrying supplies to the English army.[c] The enemy had also landed on the coast of Suffolk, and carried off provisions; and two officers were appointed early in December. December to levy a force to resist and attack them.[d] On the 24th of December a general arrest of shipping of forty tons and upwards throughout the King's dominions for the Scottish war was ordered to be made, each vessel having a double shipment of men and stores;[e] but, soon after, all foreign vessels which had been impressed were directed to be released.[f]

A. D. 1335. On the 2nd of January 1335 Sir John Norwich was made admiral of the northern, and Sir Roger February. Hegham admiral of the western fleet.[g] Early in February 1335 two persons were ordered to impress ten of the best ships of war in several of the northern ports for the Scottish war; and the usual powers were given to them to imprison any one who impeded or disobeyed them in the execution of their duty.[h] Intelligence having been brought to the King, that a

[a] Rot. Scot. I. 258, 259.
[b] Ibid. pp. 277, 278.
[c] Ibid. p. 279.
[d] Ibid. p. 299.
[e] Ibid. pp. 305—309.
[f] Ibid. p. 311.
[g] Rot Patent. 8 Edw. III. pt. II. m. 4.
[h] Rot. Scot. I. 317.

large armed ship, laden with wine and other merchandise, had arrived from abroad at Dumbarton castle, for the use of his enemies, where she had discharged her cargo and was about to return, two of the largest and strongest ships of war in the port of Bristol were ordered to be impressed on the 7th of February, to be well manned and armed, and to proceed instantly to sea to capture that vessel.[a] Twelve ships of war, with a double shipment of men and stores, were levied from the Cinque Ports, Bristol, Falmouth, Southampton, and Plymouth, and placed under the command of Sir Roger Hegham, admiral of the King's western fleet, on the 18th of February, who was to send four of them to cruise to the westward; and the eight others were to cruise where they might be most likely to intercept vessels going to the assistance of the Scots.[b] With the exception of those ships, all others that had been arrested were released on the 22nd of February.[c] On the 4th of April, Sir John Howard, senior, was appointed captain and admiral of the King's fleet of ships of Great Yarmouth, and of all other ports north of the Thames, for the defence of the realm;[d] and, two days afterwards, Sir Robert Holand was made captain and admiral of the fleet on the coast of Wales, and westward as far as Carlingford, in Ireland.[e] On the 20th of April the King informed his Irish subjects that he intended to be at Newcastle-on-Tyne by Trinity Sunday, to put down, with a strong hand, the rebellion of the Scots, and should require a certain number of men-at-arms and hoblars from Ireland; and, as a naval subsidy would

A. D. 133

April.

[a] Rot. Scot. I. 320. [b] Ibid. p. 322. [c] Ibid. p. 324.
[d] Ibid. p. 335. [e] Ibid. p. 336.

A. D. 1335. be necessary to convey those troops, all vessels in the Irish ports were ordered to be sent to Carlingford for that purpose.[a] Of this fleet John de Athy was appointed captain and admiral by a commission dated on the 24th of April.[b] The four vessels which Bristol had sent in February after the large ship expected from Dumbarton were directed, on the 6th May. of May, to be refitted with a double shipment, and then to put to sea to prevent supplies from being sent to the Scots. For the same purpose, eight other ships were then placed under the command of Sir Roger Hegham.[c]

The Scots had captured a cog belonging to Henry Lord Beaumont, called "Beaumonde's-cogge," and intended to send her abroad, with several persons of rank, money, and a valuable cargo, to raise soldiers for their cause. Orders were consequently despatched, on the 8th of May, to arrest three ships of war at Ravenrod and Kingston-upon-Hull, and to send them June. in pursuit of that cog.[d] On the 1st of June Thomas de Maydeston was made captain and chief[e] of six ships of war belonging to the Cinque Ports, two belonging to Bristol, and one to Southampton, which were to remain at sea for a certain time and for certain purposes.[f] Power was then given to Sir John Howard, as captain and admiral of the northern fleet, to impress men for his ships;[f] and, soon after, the King's clerk, John de Watewang, was appointed Howard's lieutenant, to provide shipping, mariners,

[a] Rot. Scot. I. 337.
[b] Ibid. p. 338.
[c] Ibid. p. 340.
[d] Ibid. p. 341.
[e] "capitaneum et superiorem custodem."
[f] Rot. Scot. I. 351.

arms, stores, and provisions at Newcastle, Berwick, A. D. 1335.
and other places for the war.[a] Six ships of war were directed to be arrested in the ports between Liverpool and Skinburness, of which Simon de Beltoft was made captain and chief.[b]

As the Scots had several ships of war at Calais ready to put to sea, the King ordered the warden of the Cinque Ports and the bailiffs of Great Yarmouth to reconnoitre those ships; and, if they appeared ready to sail, they were to send all their vessels to capture or destroy them.[c]

According to a Scottish writer, the English fleet, consisting of one hundred and eighty ships, entered the Forth on the 1st of July; and it appears to have com- July.
mitted great damage on the sea-coast. One of these "piratical" vessels landed on the isle of Amonia, and sacrilegiously despoiling a church, carried off a splendid image of St. Colomba. While on their return, however, the saint, according to the Scottish historian, took vengeance upon them; for a furious storm came on from the eastward, and one of the largest ships was struck so violently as to force the helm out of the steersman's hand,[d] and she nearly foundered. Having reached Inchketh in great distress, and implored the saint's forgiveness and promised to amend their lives, they suddenly found themselves in safety. It was an act of only common gratitude, to restore their spoil, and to replace the image of so benevolent a saint in its shrine; and after doing so the ship rejoined the fleet.[e]

[a] Rot. Scot. I. 354.
[b] Ibid. p. 355.
[c] Ibid. p. 357; Fœdera, II. 911.
[d] "Clavâ e manibus naustrelogi amissâ, a grassante procellâ in salebris spumosis submersionem minitata est carina."
[e] Fordun's Scotichronicon, II. 318.

A. D. 1335. Another ship belonging to the "English pirates" robbed the church of Dolas, and took away the choir, a piece of curious workmanship; but the crime did not pass unpunished, for the barge which was conveying the choir, "while exulting with trumpets and horns," suddenly sunk,—"not only suddenly, but in the twinkling of an eye, in a moment, like a stone,"—and "with the sound perished the memory of them," says the indignant Fordun.[a] It is not easy to determine whether it was this barge or another vessel, which that writer says was wrecked on the Wolf's Rocks about that time, which he describes to have been the largest and best of the English ships, and commanded by their admiral.[b]

On the 6th of July Sir John Cobham was appointed captain and admiral of the ships of the Cinque Ports, which had fitted out thirty ships,[c] and of other ships to the westward of the Thames, with power to appoint deputies; and on the same day Peter Bard was also made captain and admiral of the ships of the Cinque and other western ports, with full power to levy ships, men, and stores, to proceed to sea against the Scots and their foreign allies, who had collected many ships to invade the kingdom.[d] Great preparations were made to resist the expected invasion, by arraying forces in the maritime counties;[e] and on the 22nd of July all ships of forty tons and upwards were ordered to be arrested, manned, and equipped for war.[f] Application for shipping was likewise made to Ba-

[a] Scotichronicon, II. 322.

[b] Ibid. p. 318.

[c] Roll marked "W. N. 14," at Carlton Ride. See also the Rolls marked "T. G. 715," "H. C. H. 224," and "J. P. R. 9768," for accounts of naval expenses in this year.

[d] Rot. Scot. I. 358, 359, 368.

[e] Ibid. p. 359—369.

[f] Ibid. p. 363, 366, 368.

yonne;[a] and so imminent was the danger apprehended from several fleets of ships of war, filled with foreign soldiers, which were then at sea, that a great council was summoned to meet at London, to determine on the best measures that could be adopted to resist the enemy.[b] On the 16th of August Sir John Cobham, the captain and admiral of the western fleet, was told that he had been so lukewarm and remiss in the performance of his duty, that the King was very much displeased; and he was peremptorily enjoined, upon pain of forfeiting all that he could forfeit, to collect the ships under his command with all possible haste, and to put to sea against the enemy.[c] The orders to arrest and equip ships not having been properly obeyed, while those of the enemy were daily assembling, Henry de Kendall was appointed to survey all ships on both sides the Thames, and to see that they were manned and equipped and sent to sea for the defence of the realm. He was to report verbally to the King what ships and men had willingly served, and the names of those persons who had been neglectful and disobedient, that they might be punished.[d] A special mandate was despatched on the 26th of August to the mayor and sheriffs of London, desiring them to send all the ships in that port to sea, well manned and armed; and commanding them to apply to that purpose sixty out of the five hundred marks which they had granted to be exempt from finding hoblars for the Scottish war.[e]

A. D. 1335. August.

The fear of invasion was not, however, of long duration, for on the 12th of September, Peter Bard and

September.

[a] Fœdera, II. 915; Rot. Vascon. pp. 82, 83.
[b] Fœdera, II. 916, 917.
[c] Rot. Scot. I. 374.
[d] Ibid. p. 377.
[e] Fœdera, II. 920.

A. D. 1335. Sir John Howard, two of the King's admirals, and other functionaries, were commanded to release the ships from arrest, in consequence, the King said, of some news which had reached his ears, in order that the owners and masters of the ships might not be injured by their longer detention.[a]

A. D. 1336. In 1336 the war in Scotland, which was prosecuted with great vigour, caused the constant employment of ships of war, transports, and merchant-vessels, to convey military stores and provisions for the English

February. troops. On the 10th of February every ship of forty tons in all the sea-ports was impressed, and ordered to be well manned, armed, and victualled, under the superintendence of two commissioners, by Passion Sunday, the 17th of March, that they might then put to sea to resist the Scots, in case they presumed to invade the realm or to molest the King's subjects, as the admiral of such fleet might direct.[b] Sir Thomas Ughtred was appointed captain and admiral of the fleet, as well of the ships of Great Yarmouth as of those belonging to all other ports north of the Thames, with power to impress sailors for them;[c] and similar authority was specially given to the masters of the ships called the "Christopher of the Tower," and the "Rodecogge," and "of the King's ship called the 'Cog Edward,'"[d] as well as to other persons.[e] On the 16th of February a proclamation was issued, stating that the Scotch had confederated with others in foreign parts, and had collected a very large fleet of ships on the sea equipped for war, intending to invade the realm, and commanding all men between the ages of sixteen

[a] Rot. Scot. I. 379. [b] Ibid. p. 402. [c] Ibid. p. 404.
[d] Ibid. p. 409. [e] Ibid. pp. 414, 416.

and sixty, as well knights as esquires, to take arms for A. D. 1336.
the defence of the kingdom.[a] Sir Geoffrey Say was April.
made captain and admiral of the King's fleet to the westward, and Sir John Norwich[b] of the King's fleet to the northward of the Thames, on the 10th of April.[c] The keepers of the ports and sea-coast May.
were warned on the 6th of May of the danger of invasion, and commanded to adopt measures for defence.[d] Though general orders had been issued to arrest shipping of all sizes, it was not intended that an embargo should be laid upon foreign merchant-vessels, and Sir John Norwich was directed to release them,[e] together with every English vessel under forty tons burthen.[f] As the citizens of London had not shewn proper zeal in furnishing ships for the King's service, he severely reprimanded them on the 10th of June, and peremptorily ordered them to arm, equip, and send to sea all the vessels in their port;[g] but, at the request of John de Pulteneye, the King soon afterwards relieved the citizens from the expense of fitting out their vessels, which were, however, to remain under arrest in case they were wanted.[h]

The proneness of the sailors belonging to different ports to quarrel with each other, of which so many instances have been stated, induced the King to issue a remarkable order to his two admirals, Say and Norwich, on the 16th of June. After reciting their commissions, they were strictly enjoined, in case they met

[a] Fœdera, II. 931.

[b] Sir John Norwich's accounts are in the Roll marked "H. C. H. 135," at Carlton Ride.

[c] Rot. Scot. I. 415, 416, 417. On the 5th of May Sir John Norwich was forbidden to impress men in the city of Norwich, because it was not a sea-port. Ibid. p. 419.

[d] Rot. Scot. I. 420—424.

[e] Ibid. p. 427.

[f] Ibid. pp. 427, 428.

[g] Ibid. p. 430.

[h] Ibid. pp. 435, 436.

A. D. 1336. at sea, to oblige their crews to treat each other amicably and favourably, so that no dissensions might arise; and the admirals were warned, that, if any quarrels took place, they and all under their command would be considered hinderers of the affairs of the realm, and supporters of the enemy.[a]

July. In July Sir Geoffrey Say was directed to allow the vessels which he had assembled at Portsmouth to return to their own ports, provided he took security from the masters that they would not leave the realm without the King's special authority:[b] but on the 26th of that month Say was informed that some galleys were preparing in foreign ports, intending either to cruise in the English sea, or to proceed to Scotland; and he was ordered, in case those galleys presumed to approach the said sea, to re-assemble all the ships which had been permitted to return to their ports, and to attack and destroy the galleys. Say was, however, to take care that no injury was done to merchant-ships or men belonging to friendly states.[c] So serious a quarrel existed at that time between the sailors of the Cinque Ports and those of Yarmouth, that there was reason to apprehend it might impede the capture of the enemy's galleys. Three mandates were therefore issued on the

August. 5th of August, one addressed to Sir John Norwich, another to Sir Geoffrey Say, and the third to the bailiffs of Yarmouth. The admirals, after being informed of the designs of the enemy, were told, that, in consequence of the dissensions, it was feared that danger might arise in case the fleets belonging to those ports happened to meet before the quarrel was appeased,

[a] Rot. Scot. I. 432. [b] Ibid. p. 438. [c] Ibid. p. 441.

and they and those under their command were forbidden, upon pain of forfeiting life, limbs, and goods, to permit any damage to be done except to the King's enemies. They were, moreover, desired not to communicate with the ships of Yarmouth during the dispute, but to remain at sea, awaiting the approach of the galleys, and then to attack and destroy them to the utmost of their power, for the maintenance of the King's honour and their own. The bailiffs of Yarmouth were directed to send three or four burgesses of their town, who knew most about those dissensions, to the King's chancery, to meet a similar deputation from the Cinque Ports, who were to treat with the Archbishop of Canterbury, that an end might be put to the quarrel; and they were strictly enjoined in the meantime not to molest the people of the Cinque Ports.[a] A. D. 1336.

On the 16th of August a very remarkable mandate was sent to each of the admirals, in which the King's dominion of the Sea was asserted. After referring to the orders which they had already received respecting the enemy's galleys, and stating that twenty-six of those vessels were in the ports of Brittany and Normandy, ready to act against England, the document thus proceeded:—"We, considering that our progenitors, Kings of England, were Lords of the English sea on every side, and also defenders against invasions of enemies before these times; and it would much grieve us if our Royal honour in such defence should perish or be in aught diminished in our time, which God forbid; and being desirous, the Lord helping, to obviate such

[a] Fœdera, II. 943. In October following the King issued his letters of protection to the seamen of Little Yarmouth and Gorleston, who were going to sea in his service against the attacks of those of Great Yarmouth. Rot. Scot. I. 458.

A. D. 1336. perils, and to provide for the defence and safety of our realm and people, and to avert the malice of our enemies." The two admirals were then commanded upon their allegiance to proceed to sea with such ships as were ready against the galleys, and to re-arrest those vessels that had been released in all the ports. Ships were likewise ordered to be sent from Ireland for the same purpose.[a] The Downs was the appointed rendezvous for the squadron; and the Cinque and other ports were enjoined to send their ships properly armed, manned, and provisioned, to resist the galleys.[b] Special directions were also despatched to the mayor and citizens of London, reminding them that merchants would be the greatest sufferers from the enemy's vessels, and demanding three ships from their port.[c]

Towards the end of August the enemy's galleys appeared off the Isle of Wight, and attacked some of the King's ships which were at anchor, slew many of the masters and crews, threw the others overboard, and carried the ships and cargoes to Normandy. The King, therefore, ordered all the ships at Great Yarmouth and Southampton to be fitted for war and sent to sea.[d]

September. The authorities of Bayonne were desired on the 3rd of September to equip and send all their ships as soon as possible to the English sea, to assist the navy in resisting the enemy's galleys and ships.[e] On the 7th of September Sir Geoffrey Say was ordered to protect the Bishop of Durham and the other English ambassadors on their passage from Whitsand, against some ships which were fitting out at Calais purposely to intercept them; and the barons of Dover were directed

[a] Rot. Scot. I. 442.
[b] Ibid. p. 446.
[c] Ibid. p. 447.
[d] Rot. Scot. I. 451.
[e] Fœdera, II. 946; Rot. Vas on. p. 83.

to assist him with their vessels.[a] The enemy having attacked and carried off ships when at anchor in many harbours as well as at sea, the King appointed Sir William Clinton, warden of the Cinque Ports, Sir Ralph Bassett of Drayton, Sir Richard Talbot, and Sir Geoffrey Say, on the 2nd of October, to arrest, with all possible expedition, every ship adapted for war; to impress mariners, men-at-arms, crossbow-men and archers to serve in those vessels, and to send them to sea for the defence of the realm. Those commissioners were empowered to imprison as rebels any one who disobeyed them; and it was specially provided that this mandate should not supersede the commission which had been previously granted to Sir Geoffrey Say, as admiral of the ships and men which were to be impressed.[b] A. D. 1336 October.

It was not, however, from France only that the Scots and other enemies of England sought for assistance. Armed galleys were hired in Sicily and at Genoa to serve against the English fleet; and on the 2nd of October Edward wrote to the King of Sicily and to the authorities of Genoa, thanking them in the strongest terms for having prevented those galleys from proceeding to their destination. The Genoese immediately adopted most effectual means for complying with Edward's wishes, for when they found that the orders which they had issued on the subject were disregarded, they burnt the galleys.[c] Nicholas de Flisco, called Cardinal of Genoa, who conveyed the King's letter, was also charged with a commission to

[a] Rot. Scot. I. 451.

[b] Ibid. p. 456.

[c] Fœdera, II. 946. The French' however, soon afterwards obtained forty galleys from Genoa and Monacho. Jal's Archéologie Navale, II. 333.

A. D. 1336. hire certain galleys and vissiers, manned and armed, for his service, and to treat with the lords, patrons, and leaders[a] of those vessels respecting their wages.[b] As it was Edward's interest to conciliate the Genoese, he granted 8000 marks as compensation for the capture of their large ship, or cog, in the Downs, by Sir Hugh le Despencer, in the late reign.[c]

Louis Count of Flanders, who had long covertly assisted the Scots, had now seized all the English merchants and property in his dominions; and on the 5th of October the King retaliated by commanding that every Fleming, as well merchants as others, and their ships and goods, should be immediately arrested; and he addressed a strong remonstrance to Louis against his conduct. Copies of that order were sent to the two admirals, Say and Norwich;[d] and commands were issued on the 24th of October to arrest shipping and impress men for the reinforcement of Sir Geoffrey Say's fleet

November. at Winchelsea.[e] Letters were written on the 3rd of November by the King to the Counts of Holland and Gueldres, and to the King of Norway, informing them that he had heard that his enemies the Scots were fitting out several large ships in their dominions, and requesting them to prevent those vessels from serving against him.[f] A stringent mandate was sent to all seaports on the 6th of November, which stated the hostile proceedings of the "aliens"[g] at sea, and that for the defence of the realm the King had commanded ships, masters, and mariners to be impressed, which were not

[a] "dominis, patronis, et ductoribus dictarum galearum et usceriorum."
[b] Fœdera, II. 947.
[c] Ibid. 948, 1011. Vide vol. I. p. 336.
[d] Fœdera, II. 948.
[e] Rot. Scot. I. 466, 467.
[f] Fœdera, II. 949, 950.
[g] "alienigenæ."

to leave the ports without his permission. He said, A. D. 133(
that, notwithstanding his orders and the penalty of forfeiture, many ships belonging to the various ports had gone to Gascony and other foreign places, some of which had been captured in war by the said aliens, to the shame, disgrace, and peril of himself and his realm, whereat he was justly displeased; that he had ordained that all and every ship westward of the Thames capable of crossing the sea should be immediately manned, armed, and stored, and sent to Portsmouth by the 7th of December, so that, these vessels being thus collected, the ships which were going to Gascony for wine and merchandize might proceed and return in large fleets; and that other ships, for their own safety and the conservation of his Royal honour and the advantage of the realm, and also to attack the said aliens if they presumed to molest them, should safely convoy them out and home. The ports were therefore enjoined to send all their ships to Portsmouth, well manned and armed: severe punishment was threatened if any master or mariner disobeyed those commands; and they were warned of the danger incurred by vessels proceeding singly.[a] Ships going to Gascony from ports north of the Thames were ordered to rendezvous at Orwell by the 1st of December; and surveyors were appointed to see that the ships of both fleets were properly stored.[b]

On the 8th of November Sir John Roos was appointed captain and admiral of the ships of Great Yarmouth and of all the other northern ports.[c] Intelligence was brought to the King towards the end of November,

[a] Rot. Scot. I. 467, 468.
[b] Ibid. p. 470.
[c] Ibid. p. 468.

A. D. 1336. that the "aliens" meditated an attack upon Dartmouth; and the Earl of Devon and Sir Philip de Columbers, to whose custody Devonshire was entrusted, were commanded to take measures for the defence of Dartmouth and other places in that county.[a] Application was again made to Bayonne for ships of war on the 27th of November, to resist the ships and galleys belonging to David Bruce and other Scots, as well as to some subjects of the King of France and to other foreign countries with whom the Scots had confederated against England.[a] Sir Oliver Ingham, Seneschal of December. Gascony, was informed on the 3rd of December that a fleet was about to go there for wine; and that it was the King's pleasure the vessels should not return singly, but await the arrival of the ships from Bayonne, and thus, forming one fleet, be able to act consistently with his Royal honour. If any Flemish ships arrived in Gascony, they were to be forthwith arrested and detained.[b]

On the 11th of December Edward again asserted his right to the Sovereignty of the Sea in a commission to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, the Earls of Surrey and Lancaster, and Sir William Clinton, constable of Dover and warden of the Cinque Ports, addressed to all earls, barons, knights, admirals, sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, owners, masters, and mariners of ships, and his other subjects in all ports and places, as well the Cinque Ports as others to the westward of the Thames. After stating that he had been lately informed that David Bruce and other Scots had collected a great multitude of ships and galleys in divers places at sea, and also in foreign

[a] Fœdera, II. 951. [b] Ibid. p. 952

ports, with which they had attacked merchants and others of his subjects crossing the sea, captured ships at anchor in the Isle of Wight, and slain those belonging to them, and had also landed at Guernsey and Jersey, where they burnt, slew, and committed other enormities, the King said that he had consequently ordered ships and men to be levied for the defence of the realm and to resist the enemy, under the admiral of his fleet. But, notwithstanding the money expended in equipping those ships, the masters and crews, instead of performing their duty, had quarrelled among themselves, committed robberies at sea upon his subjects and allies, and perpetrated other crimes, to the scandal of himself and the realm; that, as the enemy were then making great efforts to increase their forces for the purpose of invading the realm, he had appointed the above-mentioned personages, four, three, or two of them, of whom the Archbishop was to be one, to proceed to those ports, and consult upon the best measures to be adopted for the defence of the country, and for the resistance of the enemy. The King, therefore, enjoined them duly to consider the impending danger, and to remember that "his progenitors, Kings of England, during similar disturbances between them and other lords of foreign lands, were in all the aforesaid times Lords of the Sea and of the passage of the sea; and that it would greatly afflict him if in his time his Royal honour should in aught be injured."[a] They were, A. D. 1336

[a] "Considerato etiam quod progenitores nostri, Reges Angliæ, in hujusmodi turbationibus, inter ipsos et alios terrarum exterarum dominos, motis, domini maris et transmarini passagii, totis præteritis temporibus, extiterunt, et plurimum nos læderet si honor noster regius, nostris temporibus, in aliquo læderetur."

A. D. 1336. moreover, to bear in mind that he was then in Scotland conducting the war, and that they were bound to expose their lives in defence of their country; and he commanded them to appear before the said commissioners, and obey and advise them to the utmost of their power, upon pain of being deemed enemies to him and his realm.[a] Notwithstanding the strictness of the embargo, vessels did occasionally go to sea, many of which fell into the enemy's hands; and, on the 15th of December, additional orders were issued for preventing ships from leaving the ports, except such as were going to Scotland with provisions for the King's army; but the masters were to give security that they would not go to any other place.[b]

In this year the King of France made preparations for a crusade to the Holy Land, and assembled at Marseilles, Aiguemort, Latte, near Montpellier, and Narbonne, a large fleet, consisting of vessels, ships, caracks, "hus," cogs, vissiers, galleys, and barges, capable of carrying sixty thousand men-at-arms, which were provisioned with biscuit, wine, salted meat, and water for three years.[c] The design was, however, abandoned, in consequence of Edward the Third having asserted his pretensions to the French crown.[d]

A. D. 1337. The first Naval transaction in 1337 was an order issued on the 10th of January to equip for war all the ships which Sir William Clinton, Sir John Roos, Sir William Montacute, and others had been appointed to survey, with a double shipment of men

[a] Fœdera, II. 953.

[b] Ibid. p. 954.

[c] Froissart, ed. Buchon, I. 55.

[d] Edward the Third styled himself "King of France" in a few documents as early as October 1337; but he did not regularly assume the title and arms of France until January 1340.

and stores and provisions for thirteen weeks from the time they should leave Portsmouth, to which place they were to be sent by the 15th of March, to proceed thence to the northward and westward against the enemy, under the orders of the admirals. No vessel was to be allowed to go to any foreign port, on any pretence, without the King's special licence; and such as were not employed on that service were to be kept under arrest.[a] Four days afterwards, Sir William Montacute was appointed captain and admiral of the King's western fleet; and Sir Robert Ufford and Sir John Roos, jointly and severally, were made admirals of the King's northern fleet, with the usual powers of impressing and punishing the crews.[b] Some vessels, which, in disobedience of the proclamation, had sailed for places abroad, were obliged to take refuge at Fowey, and other ports in Cornwall and Devonshire, from the enemy's galleys and ships of war; and the King, determining to punish such contempt of his orders, commanded the sheriff of Devon to investigate the matter, and to arrest the vessels with their cargoes.[c] A. D. 1337.

On the 16th of January, Nicholas Ususmaris, a Genoese, was made vice-admiral of the King's fleet of galleys, and of all other ships belonging to Aquitaine, that the King had ordered to be fitted out for the defence of the duchy,[d] which is the first time an officer with that title was appointed. Another Genoese, Osbert Ususmaris, probably a relation of the vice-admiral, and Richard de Gadinton, were constituted the King's

[a] Rot. Scot. I. 477, 478.
[b] Ibid. pp. 478, 479.
[c] Ibid. p. 478.
[d] Fœdera, II. 957.

A. D. 1337. proctors and envoys, on the 18th of January, for hiring galleys and vissiers, men, arms, and stores, for his service.[a] No one was allowed to leave the realm; and, if any person came to Dover with that intention, or arrived from abroad, he was to be well searched for letters, and if any were found, they were February. to be immediately forwarded to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Chancellor. On the 6th of February, the northern fleet was ordered to rendezvous at Orwell; and twenty ships, belonging to the western ports, were sent to Aquitaine, apparently under the command of Sir John Norwich.[b] The western fleet was directed to assemble at Plymouth, victualled for thirteen weeks, on the 26th of February; and the sheriffs of the southern and western counties were commanded to see that the ships were properly equipped, and fitted with clays and bridges for receiving horses.[c]

In consequence of information that five Flemish ships were loading at Sluys with arms and provisions March. for Aberdeen, John de Wesenham was directed, on the 10th of March, to impress sailors, men-at-arms, and archers, and to proceed with them in two ships from Lynn to capture and destroy the Flemish vessels.[d] Ships of war were again demanded from Bayonne, which were to be sent to the English sea without loss of time; and on their way they were to examine all Norman and other ports for the enemy's galleys, and to do their best to capture and destroy

[a] Fœdera, II. 957.

[b] Rot. Scot. I. 482.

[c] Ibid. p. 484, 485. In this year the King granted a French ship, called the "Christmas," which had been captured by the merchants of Bristol, to Sir Thomas de Bradestone. Rot. Claus. 11 Edw. III. pt. I. m. 4.

[d] Rot. Scot. I. 485.

them.[a] Of this fleet Peter de Puyane appears to have been admiral.[b] A. D. 1337.

On the 24th of March 1337,[c] the French galleys, under Sir Nicholas Bahuchet, landed a large force near Portsmouth under English banners, and having thereby deceived the inhabitants, easily captured the town, which they plundered and burnt after killing many of the people; but before they returned to their ships the English having rallied, they pursued and slew great numbers of the enemy.[d] The town was, it is said, almost entirely burnt, except the parish church and hospital,[e] which were probably spared from religious motives; and, in the following year, the King ordered that the tax of the tenth and fifteenth should not be collected from the inhabitants of Portsmouth, on account of the injury they had sustained from their town having been burnt by the enemy.[f] The same galleys soon after ravaged Guernsey and set fire to the principal town, which was wholly destroyed, except a castle.[g]

On the 29th of May more ships and men were impressed at Berwick-on-Tweed and in the adjacent ports for the Scottish war;[h] and on the following day Sir Geoffrey Say and Sir Otho Grandison were May.

[a] Fœdera, II. 963, 965.

[b] Ibid. p. 1039.

[c] It is not easy to fix the exact year when this fact happened. Knyghton states it very loosely after a circumstance which occurred in June 1337. Hemingford (II. 282) says it took place on the day before the Eve of the Annunciation, 23rd of March, 1338. De Nangis places the event in 1337. On the 9th of June 1338 the inhabitants were exempted from taxation on account of the catastrophe. Fœdera, II. 1042.

[d] Knyghton, 2570. Gul. de Nangis apud D'Achery's Spicilegium, III. 100.

[e] Hemingford, II. 282; Walsingham, ed. Frankfort, p. 136. He says the French re-embarked, unhurt.

[f] Fœdera, II. 1042, 1067.

[g] Nangis, III. 100.

[h] Rot. Scot. I. 490.

A. D. 1337. made captains of the western fleet.[a] "Certain aliens and other pirates" having collected ships and galleys to intercept the Bishop of Lincoln and the Earls of Salisbury and Huntingdon on their return from a mission abroad, the King commanded Sir John Roos, admiral of the northern fleet, on the 20th of June, to proceed to Dordrecht in Holland, with forty of the largest and strongest ships of war, which had been ordered to assemble in the roads of St. Nicholas, Kirkley, and Yarmouth, to convoy the said ambassadors to England.[b]

On their return to England, Sir John Roos's squadron captured two Scottish ships from Flanders, having on board two hundred and forty persons, and money and stores which were sent by the King of France to assist the Scots against the English. Among the passengers were the Bishop of Glasgow, Sir John Stewart, David de la Hay, and several other sons of Scottish noblemen, and some noble ladies, nearly all of whom are said to have been slain by the English.[c] The bishop, who was mortally wounded in the head, died before they arrived at Sandwich.[d]

June. A letter was sent on the 27th of June to the jurats and commonalty of Bayonne, informing them that the King of France had caused a large fleet of galleys and ships to be prepared, which, with a great multitude of pirates and armed men, were harassing the King's subjects. The Bayonnese were therefore requested to put to sea immediately with all their ships, and join his fleet under Nicholas Usus-

[a] Rot. Vascon. p. 84.

[b] Fœdera, II. 975.

[c] "quibus ferè omnibus interfectis."

[d] Walsingham, p. 118; Hemingford, II. 280; Knyghton, 2570.

maris, the vice-admiral; so that, by coming in a strong A. D. 1337.
fleet towards England, they might examine all the ports and coasts belonging to France, and capture and destroy any of the enemy's ships and galleys they might meet with. They were prohibited from molesting ships belonging to Germany, Zealand, Holland, Brittany, Spain, Portugal, Genoa, or to any other of the King's allies. Permission was given to those ships to bring wine and merchandize to this country, provided they did not overload them; and orders to the same effect were issued to Ususmaris.[a] On the 11th of August.
August Sir Walter Manny was appointed captain and admiral of the northern, and Sir Bartholomew Burghersh of the western fleet.[b] Beacons, in charge of four or six soldiers, were, as formerly, established all along the sea-coast; and if "aliens" or others, with ships or galleys, presumed hostilely to land, all persons were to hasten to the spot and repel them.[c]

Imperative as were the King's commands for rein- September.
forcing the navy, they were imperfectly obeyed. On the 1st of September, and again in November, John de Athy and others who had been directed to arrest and arm ships in the northern ports, were severely reprimanded for permitting Scotch, Flemish, and French vessels to pass to and from Scotland with stores; and they were enjoined in the strongest terms to perform their duty with greater zeal and effect.[d]

[a] Fœdera, II. 977.

[b] Ibid. p. 988; Rot. Patent. 11 Edw. III. m. 38. The expences and other notices of Sir Bartholomew Burghersh's fleet are in the Rolls marked "H. C. H. 85."

[c] Fœdera, II. 996.

[d] Rot. Scot. I. 498, 513. Athy's accounts are in the Roll "T. G. 357." The anonymous historians of this reign (p. 463) complains that the shipping were kept in their ports under arrest, to the great injury of the country, the trade in wine, and other merchandize being thereby improperly interrupted.

A. D. 1337. November. Sir Walter Manny, admiral of the northern fleet, returned to Orwell about the 20th of November, and on the 24th orders were sent to him not to disband the ships; but, if he thought it expedient, he was to put to sea again in search of the enemy's vessels, and in case of meeting them, either at sea or in port, he was "manfully to attack and more manfully to engage" them. He was not to remain at sea more than three weeks, and then to return either to Orwell or to Sandwich. Manny was, however, specially charged not to molest Spanish or German ships, nor those belonging to any other ally of England.[a]

The isle of Cadsand, near the entrance of the Sluys, was garrisoned by many Flemish knights and esquires, who did so much mischief to the English by intercepting them on their passage to and from England, that Edward determined to dislodge them. Henry Earl of Derby and Sir Walter Manny were accordingly ordered to proceed to Cadsand with five hundred men-at-arms and two thousand archers. They embarked at London, and with the first tide reached Gravesend. The next morning they disanchored[b] and came to Margate; and with the third tide they made sail and put to sea.[c] On the 10th[d] of November the expedition

[a] Fœdera, II. 1005.

[b] This useful old English word, which may be found in Lord Berners, Hall, Holinshed, and other early writers, has been purposely adopted in the text, with the hope of assisting in its revival. It is far preferable to the paraphrastical expression "got under weigh," or than even "weighed," which is applicable to other subjects. We should then have "anchored," "*disanchored*," like "moored" and "*unmoored*." Mons. Jal justly regrets that the term has become obsolete in the French navy.

[c] "Et vinrent de cette marée la première nuit gésir devant Gravesainde; à lendemain ils désancrèrent et vinrent devant Mergate. A la tierce marée ils tirèrent les voiles à mont et prirent la parfont."

[d] "La veille Saint Martin in hiver," (11th November.) De Nangis (p. 110) says the English had sixteen ships.

arrived off Cadsand, and, the wind and tide being in their favour, they prepared to attack the place "in the name of God and Saint George." "Then," says Froissart, "they sounded their trumpets, quickly armed themselves, put their vessels in order,[a] and placing their archers forwards, sailed rapidly towards the town." The Flemings, to the number of five thousand, under Sir Guy of Flanders, brother to Louis Count of Flanders, "a good and sure knight, though a bastard," made every preparation for receiving them, and drew up his troops on the dykes and sands. A. D. 1337.

As the ships approached the harbour, the English archers, shouting their national war-cry, shot their arrows with such effect that the Flemings who defended the entrance were compelled, with many wounds, to retire. The troops then landed, and a hand to hand fight ensued,[b] with hatchets, swords, and glaives. Though the Flemings displayed great bravery, they were at last defeated, with the loss of a thousand men, and Sir Guy of Flanders was made prisoner. The victors then sacked and burnt the town, and carried the plunder and prisoners to England. When the King was informed of their success, he shewed great satisfaction.[c]

Two of the King's galleys, apparently Genoese, of which John de Aurea and Nicholas Glaucus were "captains" or "patrons," well manned and armed, A. D. 1338.

[a] "et ordonnèrent les vaisseaux et mirent les archers devant."

[b] "La eut dure bataille et fort combattue, car ils étoient main à main."

[c] "fut moult joyeux." (Froissart, I. 62, 63.) Walsingham (p. 146), and the anonymous historian printed by Hearne (p. 413), state, that in 1338, Sir Walter Manny, commander of the King's fleet, landed on the island of "Ageneys," towards Hainault, for fresh water; and that, while his people were dispersed about the island, they were attacked by the soldiers of the Count of Flanders' brother; that a fight ensued, and that that person was defeated and taken. It is probably an erroneous account of the affair at Cadsand.

A.D. 1338. were sent on the 2nd of January to convoy vessels carrying provisions for the army in Scotland.[a] A few days afterwards the King despatched Nicholas Ususmaris, the constable of Bordeaux, to Genoa, with a letter to the authorities of that city, reminding them of the ancient friendship between the two countries, and thanking them for some offer, probably of galleys, which they had made. Edward then said that he had been informed that some of the citizens had fitted out galleys to assist his enemy, and he therefore earnestly requested them not to allow those vessels to sail.[b]

February. In February the King resolved to go to Flanders with the hope of inducing the Duke of Brabant and his other allies to support his claim to the French crown,[c] and various preparations were made for his departure. On the 24th of that month Sir Bartholomew Burghersh, admiral of the western fleet, Sir Walter Manny, admiral of the northern fleet, the sheriffs of Kent and Sussex, and of fifteen other counties, were ordered, in peremptory terms, to arrest all ships, small as well as large, if the former were capable of crossing the sea, and also to impress men, armour, and provisions, for the King's passage. Burghersh's squadron was to rendezvous at Orwell, and that of Manny at

March. Great Yarmouth, by the quindesme of Easter.[d] On the 6th of March Sir Bartholomew Burghersh was directed to provide seventy large ships, and to send those vessels to Portsmouth, to carry troops to Aquitaine, for the defence of that Duchy.[e]

The French had then many ships and galleys at sea, the crews of which committed great ravages on the

[a] Fœdera, II. 1008. [b] Ibid. 1011. [c] Avesbury, p. 28.
[d] Fœdera, II. 1015. [e] Ibid. p. 1020.

English coast, and in Jersey and Guernsey, besides capturing merchant-vessels. As the Isle of Wight was particularly exposed to these incursions, a "captain and leader" was appointed to array and command all fencible men for its protection. About this time every person who had goods and chattels near the sea was directed to remove them to the distance of four leagues at least inland.[a] A. D. 1338.

Enough ships for the King's passage not having been collected, a very imperative mandate was issued to the two admirals, Manny and Burghersh, on the 15th of April, commanding them to take additional measures for obtaining them; and stating, that, if through their negligence his passage were delayed beyond the appointed day, they and all other culpable persons would be deemed rebels.[b] A treaty of peace with Flanders was executed in June, by which it was agreed that the Flemings should not aid the Scots; that they should remain neutral in the dispute between Edward and Sir Philip de Valois, styling himself King of France; and that there should be free trade between the two countries, on the Flemings shewing for their merchandize "their sign called coket[c] or charter parties." It was also agreed that the King should not enter Flanders against the territories which the Flemings held of France, and that, if the King of England or his armed force came into the harbour of Swyn, to the Sluys, or in any other harbour on the coast of Flanders, they should not remain longer than for one tide, unless obliged by a "manifest storm."[d] April. June.

[a] Rot. Alman. 12 Edw. III. pt. 1. m. 9. d.

[b] Fœdera, II. 1027.

[c] A seal so called.

[d] Fœdera, II. 1043.

A. D. 1338. July. On the 12th of July the King arrived at Orwell, where he found great part of his army, and sailed on the 16th. He was soon joined by the fleet from Great Yarmouth, containing the troops under the Earl of Lancaster,[a] and landed at Antwerp on the following day.[b] Though Edward had sent the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Durham in June 1338 to France to treat for peace, Philip despatched a large fleet to sea, with orders to do all the injury possible to the English without the least mercy.[c] Numerous galleys landed at Southampton on a Sunday,[d] while the inhabitants were at mass, and their crews, which consisted partly of Normans and partly of Genoese, sacked the town, killed many of the inhabitants, hung some of them in their own houses, and committed other atrocities. They then set the town on fire, carried their booty to their ships, and, as soon as the flood-tide made, disanchored and proceeded to Dieppe.[e] Except the statement of Minot, this is the only contemporary account of that affair; but it is said by modern writers,[f] that, before the enemy reached their ships, they were attacked by a small force under Sir John Arundell, who killed no less than three hundred of them, including

[a] Fœdera, II. 1050.

[b] Knyghton, 2572; Hemingford, II. 282; Froissart, I. 64.

[c] "Absque ulla pietate exercere." Knyghton, 2573.

[d] The date of this affair cannot be accurately ascertained. Barnes, who cites Froissart, says it was on Sunday, "the 5th of October" 1339; but Froissart says only that it occurred on a Sunday, which day did not fall on the 5th of October in 1338 or 1339. In March 1339, orders were issued to fortify Southampton towards the sea, in consequence of its having been burnt by the enemy, with a stone wall; and, as many of the inhabitants had quitted the place, the King ordered them to return and rebuild their houses. Fœdera, II. 1077.

[e] Froissart, I. 72; Knyghton, 2572, 2573; Walsingham, ed. Frankfort, p. 146.

[f] Stow, Holinshed, Fabian, and Barnes.

a son of the King of Sicily.[a] To some extent this assertion agrees with Minot, who says the injuries committed had been much overrated, and that ample revenge was taken on the French.[b] A. D. 1338

On the 28th of July Sir Thomas Drayton was appointed vice-admiral of the northern, and Peter Bard vice-admiral of the western fleet.[c] A very gallant action was fought in this or early in the following year, and apparently soon after the attack upon Southampton, by two English ships, one, the pride of the English navy, called the "Christopher,"[d] and the other the "Edward,"[e] which were returning with rich cargoes from Flanders, in company with three smaller vessels, against a French squadron. It is extraordinary that so honourable a conflict should not be mentioned by any native chronicler[f] of the period; and all that is known of the affair, except from modern writers, are the statements in Froissart, in the continuation of Nangis, and the rhyming description of Minot. Froissart merely says, under the year 1340, that the combined French and Genoese fleets, containing forty July.

[a] William Duke of Athens, younger son of Frederic King of Sicily, is said to have died in 1338.

[b] "At Hamton, als i understand,
Come the gaylayes unto land,
And ful fast thai slogh and brend,
Bot noght so mekell als sum men wend;
For or thai wened war thai mett
With men that son their laykes lett.
Sum was knokked on the hevyd,
That the body thare bilevid;
Sum lay stareand on the sternes,
And sum lay knoked out thaire hernes:
Than with tham was none other gle,
Bot ful fain war thai that might fle.
The galay-men, the suth to say,
Most nedes turn another way."

[c] Rot. Vascon. p. 91. The payments of the wages of mariners under Drayton's command are in the Rolls "T. G. 74," and "J. P. R. 125." He was soon after described as "Admiral."

[d] The clerk of the "Christopher's" accounts in 1338 are in the Roll marked "J. P. R. 411."

[e] "Names," says Southey, "which in remembrance of that day ought to have been perpetuated in the British Navy."

[f] Campbell (Lives of the Admirals, I. 181) refers to Knyghton; but he does not mention the affair. Southey cites only Barnes, Holinshed, and Fabian.

A. D. 1338. thousand soldiers, did great damage to the English, especially at Dover, Sandwich, Winchelsea, Hastings, and Rye, and at other places on the sea-coast; that no vessel could leave England without being plundered, and the crew taken or slain; and that they captured the beautiful large ship called the "Christopher," which had cost the King much money, on her passage to Flanders, laden with wool, and that all on board were either killed or drowned, whereat the French talked much, being greatly rejoiced with their conquest.[a] The continuation of Nangis simply states, that "two notable ships of the King of England, whereof one was called the 'Christopher,' and the other the 'Edward,' with some common ships heavily laden, were captured at sea by the French, but not without much bloodshed, for upwards of a thousand English were there slain, and the battle lasted for nearly a whole day."[b] There is nothing in this account to shew the force or loss of the French, nor the time or place of the event. Minot gives more details, but verse is not a satisfactory vehicle for nautical, nor indeed for any other facts. He says, that, after the French galleys quitted Southampton, they proceeded towards Zealand and Flanders, and discovered the "Christopher" at "Armouth;" that their fleet consisted of more than forty-eight galleys, two caracks, many galliots, and a number of small boats; that, though King Edward was not there at the moment, he soon heard of the arrival of the French, and went with his soldiers to his ships, and found the galley-men were superior by more than a hundred to one; that a conflict ensued, in which the English slew sixty French for every ten of their own men; that the

[a] Froissart, I. 86, 87. [b] Continuation of Nangis, p. 101.

English fought both day and night, but were overcome A. D. 1338
at last by the superior numbers of the enemy; and he adds, that never before did men fight better than the English on that occasion.[a] It will be observed that Minot says nothing of the "Edward,"[b] and his account of the matter is manifestly imperfect, if not incorrect.[c] The "Christopher" did not, however, long grace the French navy.

Besides the "Christopher" and the "Edward,"—unless indeed, which is highly probable,[d] they formed two of them,—the French war-galleys captured four large English ships at Middleburgh, which were sent there to guard the King's "pleasaunce" while he remained at Antwerp,[e] and cruelly treated the men. As they intended to seize vessels at anchor in the English ports, Peter Bard, admiral of the western fleet, and Sir Thomas

[a] See the APPENDIX.

[b] It is not improbable that Minot confounded the presence of *King* Edward with that of the ship bearing his name.

[c] In the absence of all other contemporary evidence on the subject, recourse must be had to the narratives of subsequent writers. Fabian, the earliest of the modern chroniclers, thus relates the action:—

"And in this passtime (1338) the French King had sent divers ships unto the sea, with men of war, for to take English merchants and other that came in their course; and so befell that they encountered with two great ships of England, called the 'Edward' and the 'Christopher,' the which (as testifyeth the French Chronicle [apparently Froissart]) were fraught with great riches and also well manned. Anon, as either was ware of other, guns and shot of long bows and arblasters were not spared on neither side, so that atween them was a cruel fight, but not equal; for of the Frenchmen were thirteen sails, great and small, and of the Englishmen but five, that is to mean, these two foresaid great ships, two barks, and a carvell; the which three small ships escaped by their deliver [nimble] sailing, and the two abode and fought beyond nine hours; in so much that there was slain upon both parts above six hundred men; but in the end the said two ships were taken, and brought into the French king's streams, and many of the Englishmen that were sore wounded were cast into the sea." Fabian, ed. Ellis, p. 446.

[d] In King Edward the Third's dispatch after the battle of Sluys, he speaks of the re-capture of the "Christopher" and of "the *other* ships that were taken at Middleburgh;" but it is not quite certain that the "Christopher" and "Edward" were part of the "*other*" ships. Vide p. 61, *post*.

[e] Scalachronica, p. 169.

A. D. 1338. October. Drayton, admiral of the northern fleet, were directed on the 4th of October to arrest ships, men, and stores, and to send them to sea, lest the ships laden with wool, which were about to proceed to the King in Flanders, should be intercepted.[a] The French fleet was formed of Genoese, Normans, Bretons, Picards, and Spaniards, under four admirals, Sir Hugh Kiriet, Sir Nicholas Bahuchet, and Barbenoire,[b] who commanded the Genoese galleys.[c]

On the 15th of the same month Bard and Drayton were informed that foreign war-galleys, manned with "aliens and pirates," after landing at many ports, towns, and other places in England, where they slew, burnt, and committed other injuries, had returned to their own harbours for provisions and stores, intending to come back and renew their proceedings. The admirals were therefore commanded to keep the ships of their respective fleets together, and attack the enemy wherever they could find him. They were not to allow their ships to be scattered or separated; and, if they wanted provisions, they were to proceed to Southampton, where victuals had been provided, and to put to sea immediately afterwards. The masters and mariners of each ship were to be told, that, if they quitted the fleet, such ship would be forfeited, and themselves imprisoned and punished. If the fleet under Bard's "admiralty"[d] happened to join the northern fleet, and it were expedient that

[a] Fœdera, II. 1060.

[b] Mons. Buchon, in his edition of Froissart, and Mons. Jal print his name "Barbevoire;" but Fabian and other English Chroniclers call this celebrated seaman "Blackbeard." He was brother of the Doge of Genoa, and his proper names were Egidio Bocanegra.

[c] Froissart, I. 70.

[d] "Et si contigat dictam flotam admirallitatis vestræ."

the two fleets should keep together, or to go separately to different places, then the two admirals were to determine what, "the Lord being their guide," had best be done. They were further enjoined not to allow any injury or offence to be committed by the crews of the one fleet on those of the other.[a] A. D. 1338.

Commands were issued on the 23rd of October, to the mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs of London, to be prepared against the enemy's galleys by enclosing and fortifying the city towards the river with stone or timber, and to cause piles to be fixed across the Thames; and they were to compel all men having rents in the city, as well ecclesiastics as others, to assist in its defence.[b] That immediate notice might be given of the enemy's approach, only one bell of any church within seven leagues of the sea was to be rung except in case of danger, when all the bells in every church were to be rung, to call the people together for the defence of the coast.[c] October.

At the beginning of February Parliament met in London, and it was ordained that the Cinque Ports should furnish sixty ships, properly armed and manned.[d] On the 18th of February Sir Robert Morley was appointed admiral of the northern fleet, and Sir William Trussell admiral of the western fleet.[e] About Easter the Normans re-appeared at Southampton with A. D. 1339. February. April.

[a] Fœdera, II. 1061.

[b] Ibid. 1062. In the same year permission was granted to the mayor of London to erect a fortification ("quandam domum bretagitatam") in a place called "Petty Gales," near the Tower of London, for the defence of the city against the enemy, who were expected in their galleys. Rot. Patent. 12 Edw. III. pt. 3. m. 5.

[c] Fœdera, II. 1066.

[d] Knyghton, 2573. The rolls of this Parliament are not preserved.

[e] Rot. Alemannie, 13 Edw. III. m. 18.

A. D. 1339. twelve galleys and eight pinnaces,[a] carrying four thousand men, and summoned the town to surrender to the Duke of Normandy. Seeing that the inhabitants were ready to fight them, they did not venture to land, but stood out to sea; and such was the confidence of the English, that they made an extraordinary proposition. They offered to allow the enemy to disembark and refresh themselves for two days, provided they would then fight them, ten with ten, twenty with twenty, or in any other manner that might be agreed upon; but the French would not accept the challenge, and quitted the coast.[b]

Information reached the King that eighteen war-galleys full of soldiers were lying at Sluys, in wait for English ships going to Antwerp with wool; he therefore commanded the mayor and sheriffs of London and of many other ports, on the 1st of April, to warn the masters and mariners of those ships to proceed with such caution and so well armed[c] that they might avoid the danger with which they were threatened.[d] The King's galley of Hull having captured a ship laden with merchandize, belonging to his ally the Duke of Gueldres, she was ordered, on the 25th
May. of May, to be immediately restored with all her cargo.[e]

About the middle of May the French "pirates," in galleys and pinnaces, again approached Southampton; but, as the place was defended, they ravaged other parts of the coast, "like thieves," and on the 27th, landing at Hastings,[f] they burnt some fishermen's huts,

[a] "Cum xij galeis et viij spinachiis, cum manu bene armata circiter iiij mille virorum." Knyghton, 2573.

[b] Knyghton, 2573.

[c] "Ita circumspectè et cum tali conductu ac armatâ potentia veniant." [d] Fœdera, II. 1078.

[e] Ibid. 1082.

[f] Knyghton (2573) says they burnt great part of the town.

and killed several persons. They then proceeded to A. D. 1339.
the Isle of Thanet, and afterwards to Dover and Folkstone, but were prevented from doing much mischief, except to the poor. On the 20th of that month another squadron of "pirates," consisting of eighteen galleys and pinnaces, burnt seven ships belonging to Bristol, and some other vessels, in the port of Plymouth. The enemy were, however, gallantly resisted by the inhabitants, above eighty-nine of whom were killed, and the French are said to have lost five hundred men. Two days afterwards they renewed the attack, burnt all the ships in the harbour and many houses; but a large force having arrived, the enemy suddenly left Plymouth on the 25th, and went to Southampton, where they burnt two ships.[a]

Some Scottish ships of war having intercepted the vessels going with provisions for the English army in Scotland, the King ordered a galley of Hull, which he had lately purchased, and several ships of Newcastle and other northern ports, to be fitted out for the purpose of convoying victuallers and resisting the Scots.[b]

In July a large fleet of the enemy, consisting of July.
thirty-two galleys, twenty large, and fifteen smaller vessels, appeared off Sandwich; but, finding the inhabitants prepared for them, they did not dare to land, and diverged to Rye, where they did much mischief. The English fleet having approached, the French ships took to flight, and were chased into Boulogne. Not satisfied, however, with forcing the enemy into port, the English gallantly entered the harbour,[c] took

[a] Anon. Hist. Edwardi Tertii, apud Hearne, II. pp. 420, 421.

[b] Rot. Scot. I. 567, 568, 569.

[c] Holinshed (II. 357) says that the

A. D. 1339. several of the French vessels, hung twelve of their captains,[a] burnt part of the town, and returned with their prizes to England.[b] Soon afterwards Sir Robert Morley, admiral of the King's fleet and of that of the Cinque Ports, burnt five towns in Normandy and no less than eighty ships.[c]

September. Towards the end of September all the French galleys and ships were lying in the Swyn, or, as it is now called, the Sluys; and the crews solemnly vowed before the Flemings, not to return to their own ports until they had taken one hundred English ships and October. five hundred English towns. On the 2nd of October the French put to sea; but, a violent storm coming on, the greater part of the ships foundered and the remainder returned to Flanders.[d]

Parliament again met early in October; and, among the subjects which were to be discussed with the Commons was the circumstance of the French having done much mischief by sea and land, and conquered the isle of Jersey, to the great shame of the whole country, because there was not an English fleet at sea. The Commons were desired by the King to consider how the French fleet could be attacked, and how what was lost could be recovered, and to provide for the custody of the sea. They were to bear in mind that the navy of England was sufficient for those purposes, if the people were willing. The Commons, however, requested that they might not be called upon to advise on those matters, of which they had no knowledge;

mariners of the Cinque Ports took advantage of a thick fog to attack Boulogne, where they destroyed four large ships, nineteen galleys, and twenty smaller vessels, together with all the storehouses.

[a] "Et suspenderunt laqueo xij. de capitaniis navigii."

[b] Knyghton, 2573. Continuation of Nangis, p. 101.

[c] Knyghton, 2574.

[d] Knyghton, 2575, 2576.

but they suggested that, as the barons of the Cinque Ports in all times had honours above all the commoners of the realm, and were enfranchised to keep the sea against aliens if they attempted to invade the country, and as they did not contribute to any aid or charge respecting the land, and had innumerable advantages both by sea and land, for that service, they ought therefore to protect the sea in the same manner as the Commons did the land, without demanding or receiving wages, and as other large towns and havens which had a navy were bound to do. With respect to the safety of the coast, the Commons said that it ought to be guarded by land, under the direction of the knights of the counties and other keepers, in the securest manner possible, without expense to the Commons; and that all landsmen, of whatever rank they might be, who held lands in maritime counties, ought to dwell there to repulse the enemy.[a] To remedy the evils that had arisen to the English navy from some vessels having gone to sea to trade, without a fleet and company of other ships, which vessels had been captured and their crews murdered, to the disgrace of the King and all his realm, as well as to the diminution of his fleet, it was ordained in full Parliament that all ships should remain under arrest until further orders.[b] A. D. 1339.

Sir William Trussell, admiral of the western fleet, was desired on the 7th of November to place the ship called the "Saint Jak" of Bayonne, then at Sandwich, or some other efficient vessel, with a double shipment, at the disposal of Sir Robert November.

[a] Rot. Parl. II. 104, 105. [b] Ibid. 105.

A. D. 1339. d'Artois;[a] and on the 15th of that month he was ordered to give Sir Hugh le Despencer, who was serving at sea, the two ships called the "St. Mary December. cog" and the "cog of Clyve."[a] In December the ships furnished by Bayonne were at Sandwich; and a conference had taken place between them and the barons of the Cinque Ports before the Earl of Huntingdon, the warden, respecting the equipment and disposition of their ships against the French and their adherents at sea; and though some of the Bayonnese, who had appeared before the council in London, had been acquainted with the King's pleasure, yet on the 9th he wrote to the whole of them, stating that he wished them to have their vessels ready as soon as possible, and to proceed to sea with the English fleet by the middle of January, or when the admiral of the western fleet might direct them.[b]

A. D. 1340. No year was more memorable in the Naval history of England than 1340. Early in January Edward the Third, formally assumed the title and arms of King of France,[c] and resolved to maintain his right by force of arms.

January. Parliament, which had been summoned to meet in the octaves of St. Hilary, was adjourned until the Monday following, in consequence of the absence of the Duke of Cornwall, guardian of England, on which day the masters and mariners of ships who had been ordered to attend were directed to appear.[d] Among the causes for assembling Parliament, an especial mo-

[a] Fœdera, II. 1095.

[b] Ibid. 1101.

[c] It is generally supposed that the Royal motto, "DIEU ET MON DROIT," was adopted on this occasion; but there is not any evidence of its having ever been used before the middle of the reign of Henry the Sixth.

[d] Rot. Parl. II. 107.

tive was the necessity of providing for the safety of A. D. 1340
the sea; and, besides granting a tenth as a general aid, various measures were adopted relating to the navy. The sailors of the Cinque Ports undertook to have twenty-one of their own ships, and nine ships belonging to the river Thames, ready by mid-lent, the 26th of March, and the council promised to pay half the cost, not, however, as "wages," but from "special grace." The sailors of the western ports engaged to furnish seventy ships of one hundred tons and upwards each, and as far as they could at their own expense, the council finding the remainder of the money. It was determined by Parliament that all the ships of that tonnage belonging to Portsmouth and the westward should be at that port by mid-lent, and that the Earl of Arundel should be made their admiral; and that the vessels belonging to the Cinque Ports should assemble at Winchelsea, having the Earl of Huntingdon for their admiral. It was further determined that commands should be sent to admirals to arrest all other ships, and to prevent their putting to sea on account of the French; and that all such small ships were to be brought into havens, where they might be best secured from the enemy. Proclamations were ordered to be made throughout England, that all who had obtained charters of pardon should proceed towards the sea to be ready to go in the King's service and at his wages, on pain of forfeiting those charters, and of being held responsible for the crimes which had been forgiven, if they did not do so. Measures were also adopted for the protection of Southampton, which was to be garrisoned by Sir Richard Talbot with fifty men-at-arms and one hundred archers,[a] and two pin-

[a] Rot. Parl. II. 108.

A. D. 1340. naces[a] from Milbrook were placed at his disposal. Richard Earl of Arundel's commission as admiral of the western fleet was issued on the 20th of February.[b]

February. King Edward the Third landed at Orwell from Flanders on the 21st of February 1340, attended by his Chancellor the Bishop of Lincoln, the Earls of Derby and Northampton, Lord Ferrers, and other distinguished persons.[c] Measures were immediately taken for preparing a large expedition, and every ship carrying twenty tons and upwards was ordered to be well manned and equipped, and sent to Sandwich for the King's passage.[d]

March. Parliament again met on the 29th of March, when another aid was granted; and it was agreed that the Bishop of Lincoln should accompany the King abroad, and that provisions should be sent to Southampton and Sandwich to refresh the fleet.[e]

June. The King arrived at Ipswich early in June, at which time forty ships were in the port of Orwell, ready to convey him and his retinue to Flanders.[f] About the 10th, when all the preparations were completed, and the horses shipped,[g] his Chancellor, the Archbishop of Canterbury, informed him that the King of France had assembled an immense fleet at Sluys,[h] to prevent

[a] "Espinaces." The armour which was to be sent to Southampton consisted of "espringals, engyns, arblastes, actines, launces, payvez, blasouns, targes, and purkernels." Rot. Parl. II. 108.

[b] Spelman.

[c] Fœdera, II. 1115.

[d] Rot. Claus. 14 Edw. III., m. 9.

[e] Rot. Parl. II. 116.

[f] Avesbury, p. 54; Hemingford, II. 319.

[g] Fœdera, II. 1130.

[h] By many writers the battle of Sluys is called the battle of the Swyn. "This place, which in early times was the most flourishing port upon the Flemish coast .... It was then called Lammensvliet, from Lambert, an Englishman, who constructed the sluices there; it was also called Port Zuin, or the South Port, and this name, in the course of corruption becoming the Swine, (Het Zwijn,) still distinguishes the gulf or inlet, which then formed a harbour capable of containing the largest vessels that were then known, though it

his landing. Edward, however, disbelieved the report, A. D. 1340.
and said he would at all events cross the Channel,[a] upon which the Archbishop withdrew from the council, and returned the great seal.[b] The King then summoned Sir Robert Morley, his admiral, and a sailor called Crabbe, (no doubt the Scottish commander before mentioned,[c]) and inquired of them if they considered there would be any danger in passing. As they were aware of the arrival of the French fleet in the Sluys, they repeated what the Archbishop had said. Edward replied, "Ye and the Archbishop have agreed to tell the same story to prevent my passage;" and angrily added, "Though ye be unwilling, I will go; and ye who are afraid, where there is nothing to fear, may remain at home."[d] Morley and Crabbe then "pledged their June.
heads, that, if the King went, he and all who accompanied him would expose themselves to inevitable danger; but if, nevertheless, he persisted in crossing, they would precede him, even to death." On this the King sent for the Archbishop, and, speaking in a conciliatory manner, gave him back the great seal, and immediately issued orders to collect more ships from the northern and southern ports, as well as from London. Within ten[e] days a fleet of about two hundred

is now so choked with sand, that even the smallest craft can no longer enter. The entrance of the Zwijn has been called the Horse-Market, because the sound in certain winds of the waters there has been compared to the confused and irregular trampling of horses' feet. About the year 1330 the name of the work superseded that of the engineer, and the town which had grown up was called 'Sluys.'" Southey's Lives of the Admirals, I. 245.

[a] "Quod transfretare voluit omni modo." Avesbury.

[b] This transaction is not noticed in the public records.

[c] Vide p. 5, *ante*.

[d] "Vos et archiepiscopus confœderati estis in uno præmeditato sermone ad impediendum passagium meum: ... vobis invitis transfretabo, et vos, qui timetis ubi timor non est, manentis domi." Avesbury.

[e] "Seven days." Hemingford, 320.

A. D. 1340. sail had assembled, and more soldiers and archers arrived than were wanted.[a]

On the 20th of June the King embarked in the cog "Thomas," commanded by Richard Fylle,[b] and attended by the Earls of Derby, Northamptom, Arundel, and Huntingdon, the Bishops of Lincoln and Coventry, and the Lords Wake, Ferrers, (his chamberlain,) and Cobham, in whose presence the Archbishop of Canterbury, on pretence of his infirmities, resigned the great seal, which was broken up; and the new one, whereon June. the arms of France were for the first time quartered with those of England, was delivered to Sir John de la Bèche, to be transmitted to the Master of the Rolls, until it could be given to the Bishop of Chichester, the new Chancellor.[c]

The King sailed about one o'clock on the 22nd of June[d] with two hundred vessels,[e] and on his arrival on the coast of Flanders was joined by the northern squadron, which probably consisted of about fifty sail, under its admiral, Sir Robert Morley.[f] On Friday the 23rd of June, about noon, Edward arrived off Blankenberg, ten miles to the westward of the mouth of the

[a] Avesbury, pp. 54. 56; Hemingford, II. 282. The King himself says, in his letter to Parliament, after the victory, which will be again noticed, "Et auxint les grantz de nostre counseil que y estoient nous doneront pur counseil que nous le tenissions, nous preismes point de passer od certein noumbre des gentz d'armes, a cette heure; et apres q'autres grantz deveroient venir a l'autre flote, q'estoit ordenez d'estre, apparillez a la Seint Johan, od touz les grantz et autres q'estoient ordenez adonques venir. Et, sicome nous estoiens sur nostre passage, grante partie de noz chivalz eskippez, nous vindrent noveles que nostre enemy de Valoys si avoit arraiez un grant armee de navie, q'estoit devant nous en l'eawe de Zwyne." Rot. Parl. II. 118.

[b] He had previously commanded the "beautiful Christopher."

[c] Fœdera, II. 1129.

[d] "Horâ diei quasi primâ." Fœdera, II. 1129.

[e] Continuation of Adam of Murimuth, p. 95.

[f] Ibid. That writer and Walsingham (p. 146) say that Morley's squadron did not join the King until the day after he discovered the French fleet; but the junction probably took place sooner.

Sluys, and discovered the French fleet lying in that port.[a] There is much variation in the accounts of the enemy's force. By Hemingford it is estimated at two hundred and fifty ships:[b] by Knyghton, at two hundred ships of war, with other smaller ships and barges:[c] by Froissart, at upwards of one hundred and forty large vessels, besides "hokebos;" and he adds, that there were so many vessels, that their masts, when seen from the English fleet, resembled a forest:[d] and by the Flemish writers, at three hundred and eighty, and even four hundred ships.[e] Fortunately, however, the recent discovery of the King's dispatch announcing his victory removes all doubt on the subject, as he expressly says that the enemy's ships, galleys, and great barges amounted to one hundred and ninety.[f] A. D. 1340. 23rd June.

As soon as Edward discerned the enemy, he landed Sir Reginald de Cobham, Sir John Cundy, and Sir Stephen de Laburkin, to reconnoitre, who, riding along the coast, came so near to them, that they easily ascertained their strength and arrangements,[g] and found that, besides other vessels, they had nineteen such

[a] Knyghton, 2577; Hemingford, II. 320.

[b] Hemingford, II. 320.

[c] Knyghton, 2577. Walsingham (134) says, "two hundred ships and many galleys."

[d] "Si grand quantité de vaisseaux qe des mats ce sembloit droitement un bois." He adds, that the King, being greatly surprised, asked the captain ("patron") of his ship what people they could be? who replied, that he fully believed they were Normans, whom the King of France maintained at sea, who had often done him great injury, burnt Southampton, and taken his ship, the "Christopher;" to which the King replied, "I have long desired to fight them; so let us fight them, if it please God and St. George, for they have done so many injuries, that I will have vengeance, if I can." (Froissart, I. 106.) It is very unlikely that Edward should have asked what ships they were, when he knew before he sailed that the French were in the Sluys.

[e] Commentarii sive Annales Rerum Flandriacarum, auctore Jacobo Meyero, lib. XII. f. 141.

[f] Vide p. 61, *post*.

[g] "Apparatus." Knyghton.

A. D. 1340. 23rd June. large and superior ships,[a] one of which was the "Christopher,"[b] that they had never before seen their equals, lying at anchor,[c] near the land, in three divisions, besides smaller vessels and barges.[d]

The French ships were manned with above thirty-five thousand Normans, Picards, and Genoese;[e] and this formidable armament was commanded by Sir Hugh Kiriet, having under him Sir Nicholas[f] Bahuchet,[g] who received the honour of knighthood on the morning of the battle,[h] and the celebrated Genoese admiral Barbenoire.[i]

As the tide did not suit for attacking the enemy,[k] the remaining part of Friday was occupied by the English in deliberation;[l] and towards the evening, or early the next morning, the French fleet removed from Sluys, and proceeded in three columns to Grongne, nearer the entrance of the river.[m] It is doubtful whether Edward was or was not assisted by the Flem-

[a] "Præstantiores naves et grandiores quales non priùs viderant circiter XIX." Knyghton.

[b] "Vocabatur pro sua excellentia." (Knyghton.) St. Christopher is supposed to have been of gigantic stature.

[c] "Et etoient là ancrés et arrêtés." Froissart, I. 105.

[d] Knyghton, 2577.

[e] Froissart, I. 105.; Knyghton, 2578; who both say 40,000: Walsingham (p. 134) says 25,000. The number in the text is taken from the King's dispatch.

[f] Froissart calls him "Peter."

[g] Froissart, I. 105. Continuation of Nangis apud D'Achery, III. 102.

[h] Knyghton, 2578.

[i] Froissart, I. 105; Meyer, Comm. sive Annales Flandriacarum, p. 141.

[k] The King's dispatch, p. 61, *post*.

[l] Cont. of Murimuth, p. 95; Walsingham, p. 134; Polychronicon, f. ccexiii. Some modern writers state that the English fleet came to an anchor. The King only says he remained off the port — "Nous y herbergeasmes tut cel noet."

[m] "In crastino (*i. e.* on the 24th) prædictum navigium divertit se de portu de Swyne apud Grogne per acies dispositum." (Knyghton, 2578.) No such place as *Grogne* has been found in any map. Modern English writers say the French came out of the haven about the space of a mile. Hemingford (p. 320) states that the French took up their position at the mouth of the river—"in hostio fluvii de Sclusa decurrentis, ad mare se statuerunt." One of the continuators of Nangis says the battle was fought before Sluys, towards Catat ("versus Catat"); but no such place has been found.

ings, the English writers having denied it,[a] while those of France[b] assert that the French stood their ground until their enemies were joined by some Flemish ships; and though the King alludes to the Flemings in his dispatch, the passage is rather obscure.[c] A. D. 1340

At sunrise[d] on Saturday the 24th the two fleets were at no great distance from each other; but the state of the tide[e] prevented the English from entering the port until about noon. No writer has mentioned the direction of the wind, or the exact localities; and there are few of those other nautical details which are indispensable for the perfect comprehension of a naval engagement. June 24.

Edward placed the largest vessels of his fleet in the van with archers, and between each of those ships was another vessel full of men-at-arms. A second division of small vessels, also defended by archers, formed a corps de reserve.[f] As several ladies of high rank, wives of English peers and knights, and many demoiselles, were in the ships, intending to join the Queen at Ghent, and

[a] Hemingford (II. 320) states that "the King sent the Bishop of Lincoln to Heyst [Ays], a small town on the sea-coast between Blankenberg and the entrance of Sluys, to collect the Flemish and such English as were there to attack the enemy when a fit opportunity presented itself, while the King fought the French, and to cause them to prepare for battle. But his hope deceived him; for the Flemish, standing on the sea-coast, awaited the issue of the battle, that, as it was said, they might favour the victorious party."

[b] Continuation of Nangis, III. 102. His words are, "Primo impetu satis benè se habuerunt." The other continuation of Nangis merely states that, "the Flemings assisting the English in the affair." See also Meyer, Comm. sive Ann. Rerum Flandr. p. 141, and Froissart, I. 107, who says:—"Parmi un secours de Bruges et du pays voisin qui leur vint;" but this seems to apply only to soldiers.

[c] "Les Flemengs estoient de bone volente davoir venuz a no' ala bataille du commencement tanqe ala fin."

[d] "Orto vix sole." Hemingford, II. 320.

[e] The Astronomer Royal has most obligingly ascertained that the times of high water on the 23rd and 24th of June, on the coast near Sluys, were as follow:—On the

23rd June, A. M. 10·35. P. M. 10·58.
24th June, „ 11·23. „ 11·46.

[f] Froissart, I. 106.

A. D. 1340. 24th June. as the King assigned three hundred men-at-arms for their protection,[a] it may be inferred that they were sent on board of transports, and detached from the ships of war.

The French fleet was in four divisions,[b] their ships being fastened to each other by iron chains and cables.[c] To the masts a very small boat was suspended, filled with stones, which were to be hurled by the soldiers stationed in the tops.[d] In the van was the "Christopher," full of Genoese archers,[e] and commanded by John Heyla, a noble Fleming,[f] with three other large cogs, called the "Edward," the "Katherine," and the "Rose," which the French had captured from the English.[g] Trumpets and other martial instruments resounded from the French ships.[h]

The accounts of the position and proceedings of the two fleets before the action are very unsatisfactory. If the King had not said in his dispatch that his ships "entered the port," it would not be certain that the French were inside the river; and it is to be presumed that the enemy were under sail, only because they are not expressly stated to have been at anchor. It may, however, be presumed, from the various statements, that the English were to the westward and to leeward of the enemy; that the wind was about north-east, and that the French bore nearly south-west of them.

Shortly after eleven o'clock, the King ordered his

[a] Froissart, I. 106.

[b] Hemingford, II. 320.

[c] Ibid., and Avesbury, p. 56.

[d] "Scaphasque suas parvulas, lapidibus plenas, in medio mali suspendentes castella sua lignea in summitate mali erexerunt." Hemingford, p. 320.

[e] Froissart, I. 106.

[f] Comment. Fland. p. 141. He survived the battle, and was beheaded at Bruges.

[g] Hemingford, II. 320.

[h] Froissart, I. 106.

ships to prepare for battle, and to make sail on the starboard tack, that they might gain the wind, and prevent the sun from being in their faces.[a] On seeing the English ships stand off, the French were surprised, and exclaimed, "They take care of themselves and run away, for they are not the fellows to fight with us;" but they rejoiced to perceive from the banners that the King of England was present in person, for they were very anxious to fight him.[b] The manœuvre is differently represented by Avesbury,[c] who says the English stood off because they found that they could not break through the enemy's line, as their ships were chained together; and he adds, that the French, deceived by their apparent flight, cast each other off, and gave chase,[d] but this is very improbable. A. D. 1340. 24th June.

Having gained the wind, the English bore down upon the enemy; and the battle began soon after noon,[e] by Sir Robert Morley, the admiral, attacking one of

[a] "Quand le Roi d'Angleterre et son maréchal eurent ordonné les batailles et leurs navies bien et sagement, ils firent tendre et traire les voiles contre mont, et vinrent au vent, de quartier, sur destre, pour avoir l'avantage du soleil, qui en venant leur étoit au visage. Si s'aviserent et regarderent que ce leur pouvoit trop nuire, et détrièrent un petit, et tournoyerènt tant qu'ils eurent vent à volonté." Froissart, I. 106.

[b] Ibid.

[c] Page 56.

[d] "Tunc Anglici perpendentes, navigium Francigenarum fore cum cathenis ferreis in una acie adeo colligatum, quod non potuit penetrari, retro paululum navigarunt. Francigenæ vero per hoc decepti suum navigium dissolverunt, et Anglicos, ut credebant, fugientes insequi nitebantur. Sed Anglici, ventum habentes, dono Dei prosperum, illico redierunt, et confligentes cum Francigenis devicerunt eosdem." Avesbury, p. 56.

[e] Minot, who has made the battle the subject of one of his rude, but vigorous poems, says the attack began at "half ebb," but it is not likely that Edward could have entered the Sluys with an ebb-tide;

"Opon the morn efter, if I suth say,
A mery man, Sir Robard out of Morlay,
At half-eb in the Swin soght he the way,
Thare lered men the Normandes at bukler to play."

The reasons for supposing that by "houre de noune," in his dispatch, the King meant *noon*, and not the canonical hour of "nones," will be found in the APPENDIX.

A. D. 1340. 24th June. the van ships, apparently the "Christopher." He was nobly seconded by the ship of the Earl of Huntingdon,[a] which was supported by that of the Earl of Northampton.[b] Sir Walter de Manny's[c] was the fourth ship engaged, and he was speedily followed by the other vessels.[d] Showers of arrows, quarrels, and other missiles fell on all sides; and as soon as the ships came in contact, the crews fastened them to each other by hooks and grapplings, when the men-at-arms, seizing their swords, lances, and hatchets, a fierce hand to hand fight took place, in which the combatants performed numerous feats of valour, many having fallen, many being taken, and many rescued.[e] The French displayed their usual bravery, having, says their conqueror, made a "noble defence;"[f] but unable to resist the impetuous courage of their assailants, several ships in their van were boarded and carried with such immense slaughter, that four hundred dead bodies were found in one ship alone,[g] and the survivors leapt headlong into the sea.[h] Among the ships thus

[a] "Sir William of Klinton was eth for to knaw,
Mani stout bachilere broght he on raw." Minot.

[b] "The Erle of Norhampton helpid at that nede,
Als wise man of wordes and worthli in wede." Minot.

[c] "Sir Walter the Mawnay, God gif him mede,
Was bold of body in batayle to bede." Minot.

[d] Hemingford, p. 319.

[e] "A combattre main a main asprement et hardiment." — "Là eut une tres dure et forte bataille, et maintes appertises d'armes faites, mainte lutte, mainte prises, mainte recousse." Froissart, I. 106.

[f] Dispatch.

[g] Avesbury, p. 56. Walsingham, however, says "quadraginta:" probably a clerical mistake, for there would be nothing remarkable in the loss of forty men.

[h] Hemingford, II. 321; Continuation of Nangis, III. 102. Minot says—

"Fone left thai olive, bot did tham to lepe,
Men may find by the flode a hundred on hepe,
* * * * * *
And in middes the flode did tham to wade,
To wade war the wretches casten in the brim,
The kaitefs come out of France at lere tham to swim."

gallantly won, were the celebrated "Christopher," and three large cogs, called the "Edward," "Katherine," and "Rose,"[a] together with some French ships.[b] The French banner was instantly struck; that of England again floated from the masts of the re-captured ships,[c] and the "Christopher," "that fine and beautiful ship,"[d] was immediately manned with English archers, and sent to attack the Genoese galleys.[e] A. D. 1340. 24th June.

On the defeat of their van, the French seem to have abandoned all hope of success. Instead of their second and third lines maintaining the contest, they endeavoured to escape; but finding themselves surrounded by English ships, the crews threw down their arms, and rushed into the boats, which, becoming overladen, sunk before they reached the shore, and about two thousand men are said to have thus perished.[f] The fourth line, consisting of sixty vessels,[g] mostly Genoese, under Barbenoire, and including the French barges, escaped.

The battle must have lasted for at least ten if not twelve hours, as Edward says the enemy defended themselves all that day and the night after.[h] At the

[a] Hemingford, II. 321. Minot says—

"Two hundreth and mo schippes in the sandes
Had oure Inglis men won with thaire handes;
The kogges of Ingland was broght out of bandes,
And also the Cristofir that in the streme standes."

[b] For the prisoners taken in one of these ships, called the "George," some fetters were purchased at Sluys soon after the battle. Roll, "J. P. R. 426," at Carlton Ride.

[c] "Et conculcato Regis Franciæ vexillo, Regisque Angliæ in sublimi in tribus dictis navibus elevato." Hemingford, II. 321.

[d] "Ce bel et grand vaisseau." Froissart.

[e] Froissart, I. 106.

[f] Hemingford, II. 321. The King says the shores were strewed with dead bodies. According to Knyghton, (col. 2578,) many of the French took refuge in their large ships, the "Saint Dennis" and "Saint George."

[g] Hemingford, II. 321. Knyghton (2578) says that about midnight twenty-three ships escaped, together with the French barges.

[h] Dispatch, p. 61, *post*.

A. D. 1340. 24th June. close of the action the fourth line put to sea, and though followed until the middle of the night by some English ships, twenty-four not only made their escape, but they seem to have beaten off their assailants, and captured or destroyed two vessels of the English; for Hemingford says, "in this last battle"[a] the ship containing the King's wardrobe was taken, and all on board, except two men and a woman, slain, together with a galley belonging to Hull, the crew of which had all been crushed by stones.[b] Part of the twenty-four vessels which had effected their escape were, however, captured a few days after the battle.[c]

[a] "in hoc enim ultimo bello."

[b] Hemingford, II. 321. The King's dispatch does not mention this circumstance. The statements of every contemporary writer have been collected in the text; but Fabian, Holinshed, and Stowe add many particulars, which have been adopted by all the historians of the English Navy, and therefore ought not to be omitted in this work, though their apocryphal character causes them to be placed in a note.

The battle lasted nine hours, namely, from nine in the morning until seven in the evening. In the early part of the action four Genoese galleys, under Barbenoire, attacked an English ship called the "Rich Oliver," and would have taken her, had not her companions come to her rescue.—When the ships of the fourth division put to sea, a great ship called the "James of Dieppe," thinking to have carried away a certain ship of Sandwich, belonging to the prior of Canterbury, was staid; for the sailors so stoutly defended themselves, by the help of the Earl of Huntingdon, that they saved themselves and their ship from the Frenchmen. The fight continued all the night; and, in the morning, the Normans being overcome and taken, there were found in the ship four hundred men slain. Moreover, the King, understanding that thirty ships were fled, he sent forty ships, well appointed, to follow them, over the which he made John Crabbe governor; but what good speed he had is not known.—In the first company of ships that were taken they found their conquered ships, the "Dennis," the "George," the "Christopher," and the "Black Cock," all which ships were taken by the Frenchmen at Sluys, and carried into Normandy. The number of ships of war that were taken was about two hundred and thirty barges: the number of enemies that were slain or drowned was about five and twenty thousand, and of Englishmen about four thousand." Southey, (I. 249,) following Barnes, (p. 183,) says that the "St. Dennis, a mighty ship of France," was taken; but Barnes cites Knyghton as his authority, who, instead of stating that the "St. Dennis" was *captured*, leaves it to be inferred that she escaped. It should be observed that Barnes cites Adam of Murimuth for many facts which are not mentioned by that writer.

[c] Dispatch, p. 61, *post*.

According to some authorities, no less than twenty-five,[a] and, according to others,[b] thirty thousand[c] French and Genoese perished on this occasion, including those who were slain, those who leapt into the sea on their ships being boarded, and those who were drowned in the boats. A. D. 1340 June.

The fate of the two French admirals, Kiriet and Bahuchet, is variously stated. Some writers[d] assert that Kiriet was slain, but another[e] says that he was captured in his ship. Bahuchet is also said to have been killed;[f] but, according to a French historian,[g] he was slain, and afterwards hung to the yard of one of the ships.[h] If this act of wanton barbarity actually did take place, it probably arose, not to shew the King's contempt for the French monarch, but, as has been suggested, in revenge for the atrocities which Bahuchet had committed on the English coast.[i]

No English chronicler specifies the loss of the English, but they all represent it as comparatively

[a] Knyghton, 2578.

[b] Avesbury, p. 56; Hemingford, p. 321; Walsingham, p. 134; Meyer, Comment. Flandriacarum, p. 141; Chroniques et Annales de Flandres, par Oudegherst, p. 266.

[c] Dispatch, p. 61. *post.*

[d] Knyghton, 2578; Scalachronica, 170; Les Chroniques et Annales da Flandres, par Oudegherst, p. 266[b].

[e] Continuation of Nangis, III. 102.

[f] Knyghton, 2578; Les Chroniques et Annales de Flandres, p. 266.

[g] Continuation of Nangis, III. 102.

[h] Campbell and Southey both say that Bahuchet was hung, meaning that he was put to death in that manner; but the continuator of Nangis, who seems to be the only contemporary authority for the statement, expressly says that Bahuchet was slain before he was hung. "Multique in mari præcipites se dederunt, ut natando evaderent, sed a Flammingis statim occidebantur in littore; et amissis pluribus navibus, Nicolaum dictum Buchet *etiam occiderunt*, et in despectum Regis Franciæ ad malum navis suspenderunt. Dominum etiam Hugonem dictum Queret in navi acceperunt." (Continuation of Nangis, III. 102.) According to Mons. Buchon, (I. 107,) Kiriet was assassinated in cold blood after he was made prisoner, — an assertion for which no contemporary authority has been found; and he adds, that Bahuchet was hung to the mast of his own ship. Fabian, improving on the story, says *both* the French admirals were hanged!

[i] Vide p. 38, *ante.*

A. D. 1340. June. small, which agrees with the official statement.[a] One Flemish writer,[b] however, rates it at four thousand, among whom were twelve ladies; and another[c] says it was so great, that, in his opinion, Edward had more cause to grieve than to rejoice at his victory, for he lost the flower of his nobility, and full nine thousand of his bravest companions, besides being himself grievously wounded in the thigh, but which was probably a great exaggeration. No person of rank except Sir Thomas de Monthermer, the King's first-cousin, was slain.[d] If the King were actually wounded, so remarkable a fact could scarcely have escaped the English chroniclers of the period, even though Edward does not himself mention it.[e] All writers agree in describing the battle as one of the most sanguinary and desperate sea fights ever heard of.[f] Froissart emphatically calls it "felonious and most horrible,"[g] and he naïvely adds, "that at sea fights are more fierce and severe than on land, for there is no retreating or flying, but every one must fight and take his chance, and shew his own courage and prowess." It is remarkable that so little should be said of Edward's own deeds in this battle. Neither his ship nor his name is mentioned by any contemporary En-

[a] The letter is attested by the Prince of Wales in the King's name. (Vide p. 63, *post*.) The King's own dispatch does not allude to the loss he had sustained.

[b] Meyer, Comm. sive Ann. Fland. p. 141.

[c] Oudegherst, Chroniq. de Flandres, p. 266.

[d] Hemingford, II. 321; Esch. 14 Edw. III., No. 34; but that record does not state when nor where he died.

[e] Barnes, believing the assertion of Froissart, that the King landed the day after the battle, and performed a pilgrimage on foot to the neighbouring church, observes that his wound must have been very slight; but Barnes had not seen Edward's own statement, that he remained in his ship several days after the action.

[f] Murimuth; Walsingham; Chron. de Flandres.

[g] "Cette bataille fut félonneuse et très horrible." The Polychronicon says, "suche a bataye was never seen in the costes of Englond."

glish historian. Froissart merely remarks, that "there A. D. 1340. June.
the King of England proved himself, with his own hand, a very noble knight;"[a] and it is only by Minot[b] that Edward's prowess is particularly commemorated, from whose verses it appears that the King gratefully acknowledged the services performed by his subjects on that day.

Among the most distinguished persons by whose valour the victory was obtained, were Henry of Lancaster, the young Earl of Derby, eldest son of Henry Earl of Lancaster, to which title he succeeded in 1345, and was afterwards created Duke of Lancaster; Sir Laurence Hastings, first Earl of Pembroke; Sir Richard Fitzalan, ninth Earl of Arundel;[c] Sir Humphrey de Bohun, sixth Earl of Hereford and Essex, Lord High Constable; Sir William Clinton, Earl of Huntingdon; Sir William de Bohun, first Earl of Northampton; Sir Hugh de Audley, Earl of Gloucester; Sir Robert, second Lord Morley, admiral of the northern squadron; Sir Reginald, first Lord Cobham, of Sterborough; Sir Henry Lord Percy; Sir Roger, second Lord la Warr; Sir John Beauchamp, Sir Richard Stafford; Lord Multon;[d] Sir Walter Manny, Sir John Chandos, Sir William Felton, Sir Thomas Bradeston, Sir William Trussell,[e] and a young esquire called Nele Loring.[f] Two eminent foreigners,

[a] "Là fut le Roi d'Angleterre de sa main très bon chevalier." P. 107.

[b] "Sir Edward, oure gude King,
wurthi in wall,
Faght wele on that flude, faire
mot him fall.
Als it es custom of King to confort tham all,
So thanked he gudely the grete
and the small;
He thanked tham gudely, God
gif him mede.
Thus come our King in the
Swin till that gude dede."

[c] Fœdera, II. 1130.

[d] Apparently Sir Thomas Lord Lucy.

[e] Fœdera, II. 1130.

[f] Loring was knighted for his conspicuous valour in the battle; and

A. D. 1340. June. the Count of Artois and Sir Henry of Flanders, were also in the English fleet.[a] It is also nearly certain that Sir Henry, third Lord Ferrers of Groby, the King's Chamberlain, was with his Sovereign on that occasion.[b]

The King remained on board his ship in the river for some days; and the English, if Froissart is to be believed, celebrated their triumph with trumpets, drums, and cornets, and other instruments, making such a noise that "God could not have been heard to thunder." When Edward and the principal persons of his suite landed,[c] they proceeded in great state on foot to the church of our Lady of Ardenburg, in pilgrimage,[d] to return thanks to the Most High for his victory.[e] Having heard mass and dined, he mounted his horse and rode to Ghent, where he found the Queen.[f] On the 28th the King despatched an account of his victory to his son, the Duke of Cornwall; but rumours of the event prevailed in London on the day after it occurred, which were, however, disbelieved, because it was supposed to be impossible for intelligence to have arrived from so distant a place.[g]

Edward's letter is the earliest dispatch containing an account of a Naval victory in existence; and never were modesty and piety more beautifully displayed than in this interesting document:—

by letters-patent dated at Sluys on the 26th of June, two days afterwards, the King granted him 20*l.* a year. He was one of the Knights founders of the Order of the Garter in 1348.

[a] Froissart, I. 107.

[b] Vide p. 48, *ante*. Mons. Jal (I. 155), says that the illuminated copy of Froissart, No. 8320, in la Bibliothéque du Roi, contains a representation of the battle of Sluys.

[c] Froissart says that the King landed on the morning after the battle; but the dispatch shews that he remained on board until the 28th, and probably later. Meyer states that Edward landed at Rottenburgh. Comm. Fland. p. 141.

[d] Froissart, I. 107.

[e] Hemingford, II. 321.

[f] Froissart, I. 107.

[g] Avesbury, p. 56.

"MOST DEAR SON,—We, considering well that you are desirous to hear good news of us, and how it has fared with us since our leaving England, have you to know, that the Thursday after our departure from the port of Orwell, we sailed all the day and the night following, and the Friday, about the hour of 'noune,' we came on the coast of Flanders, off Blankenberg, where we had sight of the fleet of our enemies, which were all gathered together in the port of Swyne; and as the tide did not then suit to meet them, we remained there all that night. The Saturday, the day of St. John,[a] soon after the hour of 'noune,' with the tide, we, in the name of God, and in the confidence of our right quarrel, entered into the said port upon our enemies, who had placed their ships in very strong array, and which made a very noble defence all that day and the night after; but God, by his power and miracle, granted us the victory over our said enemies, for which we thank him as devoutly as we can. And we have you to know, that the number of ships, galleys, and great barges of our enemies amounted to one hundred and ninety, which were all taken except twenty-four in all, which fled, and some of them were since taken at sea; and the number of men-at-arms and other armed people amounted to thirty-five thousand, of which number, by estimation, five thousand escaped, and the remainder, as we are given to understand by some persons who are taken alive, lie dead in many places on the coast of Flanders. On the other hand, all our ships, that is to say, the 'Christopher,' and the others which were lost at Middleburgh, are now retaken, and there are

A. D. 134 June.

[a] The 24th of June.

A. D. 1340. June. taken in this fleet three or four as large as the 'Christopher.' The Flemings were willing to have come to us at the battle, from the commencement to the end. Thus God our Lord has shewn abundant grace, for which we and all our friends are ever bound to render grace and thanks to Him. Our intention is to remain quiet in the river until we have made certain arrangements with our allies and other our friends of Flanders, as to what should be done. Most dear son, may God be keeper of you!

Given under our secret seal, in our ship-cog Thomas, Wednesday, the eve of St. Peter and St. Paul."[a]

This dispatch could not have reached Prince Edward, who received it at Waltham Abbey, until about the 30th of June or 1st of July; and the annexed public announcement of the victory, commanding prayers and thanksgivings to be offered on the occasion, seems to have been an elaborate and formal version of the simple and beautiful letter just given.[b]

"TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

"Edward, by the grace of God King of England and France and Lord of Ireland, to John, by the same grace Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of all England.—We make known unto you, for your contemplation and rejoicing, the Divine mercy and favour at this time shed around us. You and our other faithful

[a] *I. e.* the 28th of June. Translated from a copy entered in the archives of the city of London, marked "F.," f. 39. The original French will be found in the APPENDIX.

[b] It runs in the King's name, and was tested by the Prince on the same day that the dispatch was written. Avesbury, however, says that the above letter was received by the Prince on Wednesday the 28th; but the dispatch has internal evidence of being the King's *first* announcement of his victory.

people know with what storms of war we have been A. D. 1340 June.
and are distracted, and, as in a great sea, tossed about by the boisterous waves. But albeit the rising of the sea is marvellous, yet more marvellous is the Lord above, who, changing the tempest to a calm, hath mercifully regarded us in such adversity. For whereas we late ordered our necessary passage towards the Flemish parts, Sir Philip de Valois, our bitter enemy, foreseeing our purpose, despatched a very large fleet of armed ships to attack us and our faithful people, that so he might either capture us or impede our passage, if which passage (which God forbid!) had been prevented, the arduous business which we are engaged in would have been utterly ruined, and we and ours would have probably been subjected to great confusion. But the God of mercies beholding us in such peril, more graciously and speedily than human reason could expect, sent us a great naval subsidy, and an unhoped for number of soldiers and a prosperous wind, after our own desires; and thus, in the hope of heavenly aid, and in the faith of the justice of our cause, sailing to the said port, we found the said fleet and our enemies there, quite prepared for battle, in vast numbers, over whom the same Christ God our hope, in a hard-fought conflict, granted us to prevail, with no small slaughter of the enemy, and the capture of nearly all the said fleet, with comparatively small loss on our side; and thus the passage across the sea will hereafter be safer for our faithful people, and many other benefits are likely to accrue therefrom to us and our faithful people, whereof the fairest hope already smiles. We, devoutly contemplating so great a heavenly grace, humbly return praises and thanks to the same

A. D. 1340. June. our Saviour, praying that He, who now and ever in abundant opportunities hath prevented us with His continual grace, may continue to us His aid, and so grant us to rule temporarily on earth, that we may rejoice eternally in Him on high.

"We earnestly ask of your love, and by the mercy of God entreat, that you take care, while offering up devout praises, to commend us, now in remote parts, and not only desirous of recovering our rights, but of raising up the Holy Catholic Church, and of ruling the people in justice, to the prayers of the devout, causing masses and other offices of pious devotion to be humbly performed; and induce the clergy and people of your diocese with salutary admonitions hereunto, that the same God, having mercy, may grant us a happy progress and a gracious end, and give to his servant a docile heart, that we may judge and rule aright, and so do that which He commands, so that we may deserve to obtain what He promises. Witness, Edward Duke of Cornwall and Earl of Chester, our most dear son, Keeper of England, at Waltham Holy Cross, the 28th day of June, in the fourteenth year of our reign of England, and in the first of our reign of France."[a]

July. On the 9th of July the King addressed a letter to the Peers and others in Parliament, soliciting an aid, in which he alludes to his victory, and refers them for further information to the Earls of Huntingdon, Arundel, and Gloucester, and Sir Thomas Trussell. Parliament met by adjournment on the 13th of July, when the Lords and Commons were informed, that, after they had been summoned, God had, of His grace, granted

[a] Fœdera, II. 1129. This letter is also given by Avesbury and Hemingford.

the King a victory over his enemies, to the great A. D. 134(
assurance, quiet, and repose of all his liege subjects.[a] On Saturday the 15th, the Earls of Arundel and Gloucester, and Sir William Trussell, appeared in Parliament with the King's letter. After describing his proceedings up to the time he left England, Edward said, "And we found the enemy on St. John's Day in the said port; and such grace was shewn to us by our Lord Jesus Christ against them on that day, that the victory remained with us, as we feel sure will be fully told you by those who were there; for which grace we praise God, and beseech you all to thank Him." The King then related his subsequent proceedings, and earnestly entreated them to grant him a subsidy; adding, that they would learn his wishes more at large from the mouths of the Earls of Arundel, Huntingdon, and Gloucester, and Sir William Trussell, who in that business (apparently the battle) had conducted themselves most loyally and nobly towards him, and who had come to them to explain his condition and his wants. Parliament willingly acceded to the King's demands, and ordered provisions and wine to be immediately provided for the refreshment of the fleet.[b]

Every fact that can be discovered respecting this glorious affair having been stated, few comments are necessary. It is manifest that the English fleet gained a complete victory over a brave and experienced enemy, who were greatly superior in the number of their ships as well as in men; but the disparity was scarcely, as Froissart says, four to one. Though the battle of Sluys was the most complete, it was not, as has

[a] Rot. Parl. II. 117.

[b] Rot. Parl. II. 118, 119.

A. D. 1340. been generally supposed, the first triumph over the French navy; and in many particulars it did not surpass, even if it equalled, the defeat of the expedition off Dover in the preceding century.[a] Nor was it particularly remarkable for nautical tactics. Except the manœuvre to gain the wind and to avoid making the attack with the sun in their faces, the English ships had only to place themselves alongside of antagonists who were perfectly willing to receive them. From that moment the contest was, as Froissart well describes it, "hand to hand," and success depended upon personal valour and bodily strength, rather than upon professional skill. It is evident that in annihilating three lines,—not certainly a small feat,—the English had become exhausted, for they failed in preventing the escape of the fourth or Genoese division, and lost two ships in the attempt. Some doubt arises, which, however, fuller information might dispel, whether the French were well supported by their allies; for little is said of the part which Barbenoire took in the engagement, until after the van, against which Edward seems to have directed most of his force, was beaten. It would appear that the first impulse of the English was to re-capture their own ships, as much from a feeling of pride, as from the importance of those vessels, though all writers speak in terms of admiration of the "beautiful Christopher."

The immediate fruits of the victory were the capture or destruction of, at the lowest estimate, two hundred sail, and the loss to the enemy of many thousand, though probably not of thirty, nor even of twenty-five

[a] Vide vol. I. pp. 176—185.

thousand men; but, above all, it established the maritime superiority and naval renown of England. A. D. 1340

The wounded vanity of French historians has found its usual consolation, by attributing the victory to inadequate causes or imaginary facts. Besides the assistance which Edward is supposed to have derived from the Flemings, they assign other reasons for his success. Some of those writers say[a] that the two French admirals were jealous of each other;[b] that they selected their crews injudiciously; that Bahuchet was unequal to his duty; that dissensions arose about the mode of proceeding, Barbenoire wishing to meet the English in the open sea, while his colleagues persisted in remaining close to the land,[c] shut up in a small creek, where their very superiority in numbers proved injurious to them, because their ships, not having space to manœuvre, embarrassed, instead of assisting, each other; and that the sagacity of Barbenoire's plan was shewn by the ships of his division being the only vessels that escaped. Upon assertions, like these, which can neither be proved nor refuted, it would be useless to make any remarks, nor, indeed, are any observations necessary; for, even if all those statements were well founded, they would detract nothing from the brilliancy of the victory, since it is fairly admitted that the French were greatly superior in numbers, that

[a] See M. Buchon's note to Froissart's account of the battle, (tome II. p. 107.) M. Buchon says that the above statement is the "unanimous" opinion of historians, meaning, it must be presumed, the historians of his own country.

[b] Continuation of Nangis, III. 102.

[c] The continuation of Nangis seems to be the only contemporary authority for this suggestion; and it is there merely said that the French waited for the King of England at the port of Sluys, that they might prevent his capturing that port. "Albeit, some counselled that it would have been better in the end to have met him in the mid-sea, where neither English nor Flemings could have succoured him." D'Achery, III. 102.

A. D. 1340. their bravery and zeal were unimpeachable, and that they were completely beaten.

A curious story is told of the manner in which the French monarch was made acquainted with the destruction of his fleet. Philip's courtiers not daring to inform him of the catastrophe, induced his fool to find some means of doing so. Entering the King's presence, the fool declaimed loudly and repeatedly on the cowardice of the English; and, when Philip asked what he meant, and why he abused them, he replied, "Because they are cowards, and dare not leap into the sea, as our gentlemen of Normandy and France did."[a]

Intelligence having been received by the King's council that a squadron of Norman and Spanish ships was at sea for the purpose of intercepting English
August. vessels, imperative commands were issued, on the 24th of August, to the admiral or captain,[b] and to the masters and mariners of the northern and western fleets, as well as to the commanders of the ships of the Cinque Ports, to unite and proceed to sea against the enemy. The ships were, on no account, to separate from each other until they returned to port; but, if it happened that, from contrary winds or other causes, the progress of the fleet should be impeded from two to four days, the admiral, and such of the owners and masters of those ships as he might select, were to confer with the Earl of Huntingdon, warden of the Cinque Ports, at Sandwich or Dover.[c] No conflict between the two squadrons took place;
September. and, on the 25th of September, a truce was made

[a] Walsingham, p. 134. [b] "admirallus sive capitaneus."
[c] Fœdera, II. 1133.

with King Philip, which was to endure until the 24th of June following.[a] Edward arrived at the Tower of London from Flanders on the night of the 30th of November.[b] A. D. 1340. November.

It was apparently in this year that six Genoese galleys were captured off Brittany, of which aggression the Duke of Genoa sent a mission to England to complain; for in January 1342 the King wrote a letter to Simon Boccanigra, then Duke of Genoa, in which he reminded him of the ancient friendship and union that had for so long a period subsisted between the two countries, and noticed the fact of some Genoese having gone to the assistance of his enemies, which, however, he attributed to the fault of individuals, rather than to any disaffection on the part of the Genoese people in general. Edward then said, that a year before, upon the complaint of the Genoese ambassadors that six Genoese galleys had been seized by British subjects, he had offered to pay 10,000*l.* sterling in compensation for the loss they had sustained; and he expressed his astonishment that the offer had not met with any answer, nor even with thanks from the Duke.[c]

[a] Fœdera, II. 1135. [b] Ibid. p. 1141. [c] Ibid. p. 1185.

CHAPTER II.

PREPARATIONS FOR HOSTILITIES IN 1341.—SEA-FIGHT NEAR QUIMPERLE.—ACTION OFF GUERNSEY.—EDWARD PROCEEDS TO BRITTANY.—CONCLUDES A TRUCE, AND RETURNS TO ENGLAND.—HOSTILITIES IN 1344.—THE KING LANDS AT LA HOGUE.—BATTLE OF CRESSY.—SIEGE OF CALAIS.—TRUCE.—BATTLE OF "ESPAGNOLS SUR MER."—WAR WITH FRANCE IN 1355.—EDWARD PUTS TO SEA.—BATTLE OF POICTIERS.—TRUCE IN 1357.—DANGER OF INVASION, AND PREPARATIONS FOR WAR.—FRANCE INVADED.—PEACE IN 1360.—DEPLORABLE CONDITION OF THE NAVY.—ACTION WITH THE FLEMINGS IN 1371.—NAVAL REVERSES.—DEFEAT OF THE EARL OF PEMBROKE OFF ROCHELLE IN 1372.—THIRTY-NINE MERCHANT-VESSELS CAPTURED BY SPANISH GALLEYS IN 1375.—PREPARATIONS TO EQUIP A FLEET IN 1376.—DEATH OF EDWARD THE THIRD.

A. D. 1341. NOTWITHSTANDING the truce with France, great preparations were made for hostilities in 1341. On the February. 12th of February the King issued mandates to the authorities of most of the sea-ports, wherein he alluded to the ravages that had been committed by the French on the coasts of England, which would not, he said, have happened, if a fleet had been ready; and, to prevent similar aggressions in the ensuing summer, he commanded them to cause all owners and masters of ships carrying sixty tons and upwards, and the masters of barges and flutes,[a] to have their vessels equipped for war, and ready to put to sea on the 16th of April.[b] One or two of the most substantial and most discreet men of each place were to be sent to Westminster to inform the King and his council of the state and preparations of the fleet, and to receive April. his further commands.[c] In April Sir Robert Morley,

[a] "*ac bargearum et fluvorum.*"

[b] Fœdera, II. 1177.

[c] Fœdera, II. 1150. On the 15th of March 1341, John Crabbe (no

admiral of the western fleet, was directed to provide one hundred ships called "pessoners and crayers,"[a] and other small vessels carrying less than thirty tons, and to have them ready for the King's passage.[b] A. D. 1341.

On the 4th of June Edward thanked the citizens of Bayonne for their offer to furnish from eight to ten ships at their expense for two months, which he requested might be sent to him. He also expressed a hope that his other subjects in Bayonne would provide ten more ships and as many galleys; and he desired them to appoint an admiral to command, and good seamen to man, those vessels.[c] On the 12th of August the King informed the Bayonnese that he expected to be at sea, on his passage to France, by the 29th of that month, and therefore requested that the twenty ships and ten galleys might be sent to him immediately; and he appointed Peter de Puyano admiral of that squadron.[d] The prolongation of the truce to the 24th of June 1342, however, rendered it unnecessary to send these ships to sea; and the citizens were warmly thanked on the 2nd of September for their zeal in equipping them.[e] June. August. September.

On the death of John Duke of Brittany, in April in this year, without children, two claimants appeared for his dominions, in the persons of his niece the wife of Charles Count of Blois, nephew of the King of France, as heir of the duke's next brother Guy, and the Duke's brother and heir male, John Count of Montfort, who came to England, and, ac-

doubt the seaman so often mentioned) was ordered to superintend the provision of engines and hurdles for war. Ibid. p. 1153.

[a] "centum naves vocatæ pessoners et creyers."

[b] Fœdera, II. 1156.

[c] Fœdera, II. 1163.

[d] Ibid. p. 1173.

[e] Ibid. p. 1175.

A. D. 1341. knowledging Edward as King of France, did homage to him for the duchy. The peers of France having decided in favour of the Count of Blois in right of his wife, Philip sent troops into Brittany to support him, while Edward warmly espoused the cause of the Count of Montfort. An army was levied
October. throughout England; and on the 3rd of October the Cinque Ports were directed to send ships of war to Portsmouth by the 18th of November, to convey certain peers and others to Brittany; and orders were soon after issued to arrest ships for that purpose in many of the western ports.[a]

A. D. 1342. More ships were ordered to be provided for the con-
February. veyance of troops to Brittany on the 20th of February 1342, which were to assemble at Orwell by Palm Sunday,[b] the 24th of March. Sir Walter Manny was appointed commander of this expedition; and
March. he received orders on the 10th of March to take possession of all the ports and fortified places in Brittany, pursuant to a convention which had been made with the Count of Montfort.[c] He appears to have sailed on the 20th of that month,[d] with about one hundred and twenty men-at-arms and a thousand archers.[e] Owing to contrary winds, his ships were sixty days on their passage, but they appeared off Hennebon at a most critical moment. The Countess of Montfort,

[a] Fœdera, II. 1177.

[b] Ibid. p. 1187. A document in the Tower, without date, gives a list of the ships that accompanied the King and Sir Walter de Manny to Brittany, and apparently in this year. The ships (the names of which, of their masters, and of the ports they belonged to, are stated) are divided into two fleets, the northern consisting of one hundred and fifty-four, and the other of one hundred and ninety-eight sail. State Papers, No. 147.

[c] Fœdera, II. 1189.

[d] On the 15th of March it was said that Manny was about to proceed.

[e] Knyghton, 2581.

a noble heroine, "who possessed the courage of a man A. D. 134
and the heart of a lion,"[a] was then closely besieged in that town by the Count of Blois. Despairing of relief, the garrison was on the point of surrendering, when the countess, casting her eyes from the windows of her castle towards the sea, joyfully exclaimed, "I see the assistance I have so long desired! I see the assistance I have so long desired!" Every one rushed to the windows and turrets of the castle, and discerned numerous ships approaching, which they recognised as the promised succours from England.[b] Sir Walter Manny speedily compelled Charles to raise the siege, and his valour received the sweetest of all rewards; "for the countess, coming down from her castle, kissed Sir Walter Manny and his companions one after the other, two or three times; and truly may it be said that she was a valiant lady."[c]

Charles had a powerful ally in Don Luis of Spain,[d] who brought a large squadron, partly Spaniards and partly Genoese, to his assistance. The count sent Don Luis from Hennebon to attack Dinan, which soon surrendered; and he then besieged Guerrande, in which port he found many vessels laden with wine, that had arrived from Poitou and Rochelle. Luis took possession of these ships, and, filling them with soldiers, employed them against the town, which was carried by assault.[e] He then embarked his troops,

[a] "qui bien avoit courage d'homme et cœur de lion." Froissart, I. 138.

[b] Froissart, I. 152.

[c] Ibid. p. 153.

[d] This remarkable person, who had been Admiral of France, and afterwards distinguished himself by his attacks on the English coast, was Don Luis de la Cerda, son of Don Alphonso de la Cerda, son of the Infant Ferdinand de la Cerda, (so called because he was born with hair on his back,) a younger son of Alphonso the Wise, King of Castile and Leon, by Blanche, daughter of Louis the Ninth, King of France.

[e] Froissart, I. 155.

A. D. 1342. intending to cruise along the coast in company with Sir Otho Doria and other Genoese and Spaniards, but they landed at Quimperlé and ravaged the country. Manny and Sir Amery de Clisson lost no time in pursuing them; and, placing three thousand archers on board the English vessels, hastened to Quimperlé, where they found the Spanish ships at anchor, and immediately boarded and took them, putting their crews to the sword. These vessels contained such a variety of rich booty as astonished as much as it gratified the captors. Leaving three hundred archers to defend their ships and prizes, the English landed, and, after a gallant action, completely defeated the Genoese and Spaniards. Don Alphonso of Spain, Luis' nephew, was killed, and he himself escaped with great difficulty in a small vessel called a "lique;"[a] and, though chased by Manny in some of his fleetest ships, he reached Rédon in safety through the exertions of the rowers. The English vessels then sailed for Hennebon, but were obliged by contrary winds to land about three leagues from Dinan.[b]

During these proceedings[c] great exertions were made in England to send a large force to Brittany, under the Earl of Northampton. Ships were ordered to be at Portsmouth by the 11th of April to convey him; and the King again wishing to have advice on Naval matters, each port was commanded to send one or two experienced mariners to the council at Westminster by the 25th of that month.

[a] "Si se mit dans un vaisseau qu'on appelle lique"—"entre en une lique." Froissart, I. 157.

[b] Froissart, I. 156, 157.

[c] Apparently so; but Froissart does not give the exact dates of Sir Walter Manny's exploits.

On the 20th of June all the ships which had been ordered to be ready to proceed to Brittany were directed to be at Portsmouth on or before the 5th of July;[a] and it appears that the Earl of Northampton, who shortly before had been appointed the King's lieutenant in France and Brittany, with extraordinary powers, sailed about the end of July.[b] He was accompanied by Sir Robert of Artois, the Earl of Devonshire, the Lords Stafford and Darcy, and by many other persons of distinction;[c] and, if Froissart is to be credited, they fought a gallant action with Don Luis' squadron before they reached Brittany. His statement is to the following effect:— A. D. 1342. June. July.

Charles of Blois being informed of the support which the Countess of Montfort had received from the King of England, sent Don Luis, Sir Charles Grimaldi, and Sir Otho Doria off Guernsey to intercept her on her return to Brittany with a squadron of thirty-two large ships, having on board three thousand Genoese and a thousand men-at-arms. The English squadron, in which were Sir Robert of Artois, the Countess of Montfort, the Earls of Pembroke, Salisbury, Suffolk, and Kent, the Lords Stafford, Despencer, Bourchier, and other noblemen, consisted of forty vessels of various sizes, but none of them was so large or so strong as nine of Don Luis' ships; besides which he had three galleys that overtopped all the others,[d] and were severally commanded by the chiefs, Luis, Grimaldi, and Doria.

[a] Fœdera, II. 1201.

[b] Knyghton (2581) says that Northampton left England after the feast of St. John the Baptist, the 24th of June, meaning, probably, *soon* after that time.

[c] Knyghton, 2581.

[d] "qui se remontroient dessus tous les autres."

A. D. 1342. It was late in the afternoon when the two fleets came in sight of each other; and, as soon as the English sailors perceived the Spaniards, they exclaimed, "My lords, arm and prepare yourselves; for here are the Genoese and Spaniards approaching us." Then the English sounded their trumpets, displayed their pennons and standards with the arms of St. George, arrayed their archers, and advanced boldly towards the enemy in full sail. As they approached, the Genoese shot their crossbows and the English archers their arrows, inflicting many wounds; and when the ships came in contact, so that the lords, knights, and esquires could use their swords and lances, then was the battle hard and fierce. The countess, who was armed, was as good as a man, "for she had the heart of a lion," and bore a very strong and trenchant glaive, with which she fought with great courage.[a] Don Luis in his galley, like a brave knight, anxiously sought his enemies, being desirous of revenging the injury he had sustained in this year at Quimperlé. The Genoese and Spaniards hurled large bars of iron and "archgays"[b] from their ships upon the English archers with great effect; but thick weather and the darkness of night soon rendered it impossible to distinguish one vessel from another, and the combatants separated without any advantage being gained on either side. Both fleets anchored, and dressed their wounded, preparing to renew the fight. A little before midnight, how-

[a] "La Comtesse de Montfort armée, qui bien valoit un homme, car elle avoit cœur de lion, et tenoit un glaive moult roide et bien tranchant, et trop bien se combattoit et de grand courage."

[b] A sort of pike, or lance, borne by archers; but, according to Froissart, a machine which was thrown on an enemy. Roquefort.

ever, "so violent and so horrible a tempest arose, that A. D. 1342
the world seemed coming to an end," and the boldest wished themselves on shore, for the ships and barges clashed against each other with such violence, that it seemed they must be riven asunder. By the advice of their crews, the English lords determined to weigh and make for the land; and, reducing their sail to half a quarter of its usual size,[a] the vessels bore away for Brittany. The Spaniards and Genoese also disanchored; but, as their ships were larger and stronger than those of the English, and could contend with the storm, they put to sea; for, had such large ships taken the ground, they would have been in danger of breaking to pieces. Before they departed they captured four of the English ships, laden with provisions and horses, and took them in tow. Such was the violence of the gale, that Froissart adds, (figuratively, no doubt,) that, before it was day,[b] they were driven a hundred leagues from the place of battle. Meanwhile the English squadron arrived in safety at a small port near Vannes. The Spaniards lost two of their ships in the storm; and, on the third day, when it abated, they found themselves on the coast of Navarre, one hundred and twenty leagues from Brittany. Don Luis anchored to wait for the tide, and the next day made sail for Rochelle. Running along shore, he captured four ships belonging to Bayonne, and put their crews to death. A few days afterwards his fleet reached Guerrande, where he and his companions disembarked.[c]

[a] "Et mirent les singles ainsi qu'à demi quartier."

[b] "Avant qu'il fut jour."

[c] Froissart, I. 166, 168.

A. D. 1342. Though this narrative is open to grave suspicions, and though, like so many of Froissart's spirited stories, some of the details are certainly erroneous, it can scarcely have been without foundation. He assigns the battle to no precise date, but merely states that it occurred after the truce (which he mistakenly says was made between Charles of Blois and the Countess of Montfort in November 1342) had expired; and when Easter fell so late that the "clause," or first Sunday after Easter, occurred in the beginning of May, which would place the event in 1343,[a] though he himself says it was in the same year as the affair off Quimperlé.[b] English writers[c] have accordingly placed the event in 1343; but this is impossible, because the Count of Artois died of wounds received at Vannes in November 1342;—the King of England went to Brittany about that time;—the truce with France was made on the 19th of January 1343;—and on the 2nd of March Edward returned to this country. If, therefore, the action really did take place, it must have been fought towards the end of July, or early in August 1342, by the squadron which conveyed the Earl of Northampton and Sir Robert of Artois to Brittany. But the event must be stripped of all its romance, for the Countess of Montfort did not come to England in 1342, and consequently could not have shewn her valour on that occasion. It is remarkable that no English writer of the time should allude in the slightest manner to this engage-

[a] In 1343 the Sunday after Easter fell on the 20th of April, which was many days later than in any year between 1340 and 1346.

[b] Vide p. 74, *ante*.

[c] Barnes and Southey. Campbell, however, places the battle in 1342.

ment, which stands on the almost[a] unsupported autho- A. D. 1342.
rity of Froissart.

A ship belonging to London, laden with gold, silver, and other goods, having been captured on her passage to Newcastle, during the truce with France, by some people of Calais, Boulogne, and Dieppe, the King ordered the mayors of London, Southampton, and Wells, and the bailiffs of St. Botolph, Lynn, Ipswich, and New Sarum, on the 10th of July, to imprison July.
all Frenchmen in those places, and to seize their goods.[b]

Preparations were now made for the passage of the King himself to Brittany. On the 1st of August Sir August.
John Montgomery, one of the admirals, was directed not to deliver any ship in his fleet to any one, unless he produced a mandate under the King's secret seal;[c] and on the 20th of that month all the bishops were enjoined to cause masses to be said, processions to be formed, and other religious ceremonies observed, "that the God of mercies might extend His blessing over him and his armies."[d]

Edward embarked at Sandwich in a ship called the "George;"[e] and on the 4th of October the Great Seal was October.
delivered on board that vessel to the new Chancellor.

[a] The battle is mentioned by the author of the Chronicle of Flanders, (edited by Sauvage,) pp. 171, 172, but he assigns the action to another locality. He says the English fleet attacked the port of Beauvoir, in Poitou, but was vigorously repulsed by the ships and troops which Don Luis and Doria had left to protect it; and they were attacked at the same moment by two French admirals and the rest of their forces. The English were defeated, and took refuge on the coast of Brittany, with the loss of Lord Stafford and three thousand men. M. Buchon justly prefers Froissart's account, because the Flemish writer treats of a matter out of his province; and it may be added, that, so far from Lord Stafford being then slain, he was created an Earl in 1351, and did not die until 1372.

[b] Fœdera, II. 1202.

[c] Rot. Franc. p. 24.

[d] Fœdera, II. 1209.

[e] The clerk's account of the expences of this ship and of the cog "Thomas," from 1340 to 1342, is in the Roll "J. P. R. 426."

A. D. 1342. The next day the Duke of Cornwall was made custos of England during the King's absence,[a] and the King soon after landed at Brest.[b]

The King was joined at Brest by Sir Walter
November. Manny;[c] and on the 12th of November he wrote to the Earls of Warren and Angus, and to many other peers, from Roser, in Brittany, announcing his arrival. He informed them that he had begun "chivaucher celles parties sur l'esploit de nostre guerre," and hoped to perform such deeds as would redound to his own honour and to that of England, provided he were speedily reinforced; and he therefore entreated them to hasten to him with men-at-arms and archers.[d] On the 5th
December. of December Edward wrote an interesting letter from before Vannes to the Prince of Wales, giving a detailed account of the success which had attended his arms in Brittany; and added, in a postscript, that the Earls of Northampton and Warwick, Sir Hugh le Despenser, and other bannerets, were then besieging Nantes.[e]

At this time Don Luis and the two Genoese admirals, with eight galleys, thirteen barges, and thirty ships, were cruising between England and Brittany, to intercept vessels bringing provisions to the King's army before Vannes, and did much injury. On one occasion the Spanish and Genoese squadron attacked

[a] Fœdera, II. 1212.

[b] There is some doubt as to the exact time when the King left England. Knyghton (2581) says he sailed from *Portsmouth*, and arrived at Brest "before the feast of All Saints." Avesbury (p. 98) says he arrived at Brest two days before the feast of All Saints; *i. e.* on the 30th of October. The documents in the Fœdera after the 5th of October are tested by the Duke of Cornwall; but there are some on the Scotch Rolls which were tested by the King at Sandwich so late as the 15th of October.

[c] Knyghton, 2582.

[d] Fœdera, II. 1213.

[e] Avesbury, pp. 98—102.

some English ships lying at anchor in a small port near Vannes; and, as they were not well protected, the enemy killed all they found on board, and would have done greater damage, had not the troops which were besieging Vannes hastened to the assistance of their countrymen; but notwithstanding their efforts, Don Luis sunk three, and carried off four ships, laden with provisions. The King then sent part of his fleet to Brest, and part to Hennebon.[a] A. D. 1342.

The vessels alluded to were evidently transports, but it is extraordinary, that within three years of the destruction of the French fleet and the recovery of the "Christopher," the "Edward," and of other large ships at Sluys, England should not have had ships of war capable of coping with the Spanish and Genoese squadron, which appears to have obtained almost an undisputed command of the narrow seas.

In January 1343 Sir Robert Beauple, admiral of the western fleet, was ordered to have all his ships, with such others as he could collect, at Portsmouth on the 1st of March, to convey the Earls of Arundel and Huntingdon, and a large army to Brittany. Similar directions were sent to Sir William Trussell, admiral of the northern fleet,[b] and to John de Watenhull, the receiver of money for paying seamen's wages,[c] and also to the sheriffs of the maritime counties;[d] but a truce having been made with France for three years and eight months at Vannes, on the 19th of A. D. 1343.

[a] Froissart, II. 175.

[b] His expences in this year are on the Roll "J. P. R. 172." Other accounts of Naval expences about this time are on the Rolls "W. N. 106," "J. P. R. 426," "H. C. H. 2546," "T. G. 16643," "E. B. 421," and "W. N. 1587."

[c] Rot. Franc. 19 Edw. III. p. 1, m. 26.

[d] Fœdera, II. 1218, 1219.

A. D. 1343. January,[a] these preparations became unnecessary, and
February. on the 6th of February the orders for assembling the fleet were countermanded.[b]

Edward embarked for England towards the end of January, but, from a long continuance of storms and contrary winds, he was five weeks on his passage, and often in imminent danger. His ships were driven on the coast of Spain, and when near the river "Unglancia,"[c] he met the Spanish fleet, which prepared to attack his ships, being ignorant of his presence, but on seeing his banner they submitted themselves to him. Two or three ships were lost on the passage,[d] and the King, whose intrepidity and firmness during the tempest are particularly commended,[e] landed at
March. Weymouth on Sunday the 2nd of March; and, on Tuesday morning, at the hour of "cock-crow," he arrived at Westminster.[f] The last Naval measure of
December. this year was an order issued on the 24th of December to Sir John Montgomery, admiral of the western fleet, to provide twenty-four ships, sixteen at Dartmouth and eight at Sandwich, to convey troops for the defence of the King's castles and lands in Brittany.[g]

A. D. 1344. Advantage was taken of the truce (on the stability of which little reliance was placed) to strengthen and
February. refit the navy. On the 6th of February 1344 every sea-port in England was, as on former occasions, ordered to send from one to four of its inhabitants, best

[a] Avesbury, p. 109; Knyghton, 2583.

[b] Fœdera, II. 1219.

[c] The modern name of this river has not been ascertained.

[d] Knyghton, 2583; Avesbury, 109. These storms were so remarkable, that Murimuth (p. 96) attributes them to the necromancers of the King of France. Avesbury says the King's escape was miraculous.

[e] *Chronicle of Lanercost, p. 340.*

[f] "*hora quasi galli cantûs.*" *Fœdera*, II. 1220.

[g] Fœdera, II. 1242.

acquainted with the state of shipping, to London, to advise the King and his council on nautical matters;[a] and no earl, baron, knight, esquire, man-at-arms, or religious person, was permitted to leave the realm without the King's special license.[a] The Cinque Ports not having equipped eight large ships, which had been required of them, the command to do so was repeated on the 25th of March; and all vessels of thirty tons and upwards, belonging to other ports, were ordered to be arrested, to convey the Earls of Derby and Arundel to Gascony.[b] These noblemen, to whom the government of Aquitaine was confided, were also empowered to treat for an alliance with the Kings of Castile, Portugal, and Arragon; and they were specially charged to settle some dissensions which had arisen between the sailors of Castile and Edward's subjects.[c] On the 8th of May Sir Reginald Cobham was appointed captain and admiral of the western fleet, and Robert Earl of Suffolk was made admiral of the northern fleet.[d]

A. D. 134

March.

May.

Philip having flagrantly violated the truce, by putting many Breton knights and others who were protected by it to death, by sending troops both into Gascony and Brittany, by taking castles and lands belonging to Edward, and by endeavouring to seduce his allies, "it being his firm purpose to destroy the English language and to seize the territories of England,"

[a] Fœdera, III. 4.

[b] Ibid. pp. 9, 10, 11.

[c] Fœdera, III. 8, 9. Froissart says (I. 183) that the Earl of Derby landed at Bayonne on the 5th of June 1344; and he then describes his proceedings in Gascony in 1345, which caused M. Buchon to state that the earl did not go to Guienne in 1344, nor until after the 11th of June in 1345. It is, however, certain that Derby did go abroad, and apparently to Guienne, about April; and he returned to England about August, 1344.

[d] Fœdera, III. 13.

A. D. 1344. the King determined to raise an army, and proceed in person to Gascony, in which resolution he was confirmed by a request of Parliament.[a]

On the 13th of May[b] the Earl of Suffolk was directed to arrest all large and small ships, crayers, barges, flutes, and large boats, as well fishing as others, capable of transporting men and horses beyond sea, and to send them to Portsmouth, Southampton, and other places in the Solent, so that they might be ready to proceed, at the King's wages, on the 8th of September following. These commands were repeated on the 28th of

June. June; and similar orders were at the same time issued to Sir Reginald Cobham.[c] The magnitude of this expedition may be judged of, by the extraordinary number of sixteen thousand clays and two hundred and ten bridges being required for the horses which were to be embarked.[d]

August. About August the Earl of Derby returned to England; and, as he and some other noblemen had been received on board the galleys of Barbenoire, then the King of Castile's admiral, who not only shewed them great attention, but offered to enter Edward's service with his armed galleys, the King wrote a letter of

September. thanks to Barbenoire on the 1st of September, and sent an envoy to treat with him on the subject.[e] On

October. the 15th of October a general embargo was laid upon all English shipping, and no one was permitted to leave the realm.[f] About this time, says Walsingham, the King of France gave free power to his people to cut down trees to build ships throughout

[a] Rot. Parl., June 1344, Vol. II. 148; Avesbury, p. 114; Froissart, I. 177.
[b] Rot. Franc. p. 28.
[c] Fœdera, III. 15.
[d] Ibid. p. 16.
[e] Ibid. p. 22.
[f] Ibid. p. 24.

all his territories, from whence, in a short time, a very great number of ships were built, which did much damage to the English.[a] A. D. 1344.

On the 23rd of February 1345 Richard Earl of Arundel was appointed admiral of the western fleet;[b] and, a few days after, he was ordered to arrest thirteen ships, and to send them to Bristol, for the passage of Lord Stafford, seneschal of Gascony.[c] The Cinque Ports were commanded to have all their service ready at Sandwich by the 6th of May, for the defence of the realm;[d] and in April many ships were directed to be sent to Dartmouth, to convey troops to Brittany, under the Earl of Devon.[e] Before the 11th of June the Earl of Northampton sailed for Brittany, and the Earl of Derby was then at Southampton shipping his horses, and preparing for his voyage to Gascony.[f] The arrangements for the King's expedition to Flanders being nearly completed, he arrived at Sandwich about the 18th of June; and in the afternoon of Sunday the 3rd of July sailed from that port in his flute called the "Swallow," accompanied by the Prince of Wales, the Earls of Huntingdon and Suffolk, and an immense retinue.[g] A. D. 1345. February. April. July.

On the 10th of July measures were taken for the protection of the Isle of Thanet, in consequence of the French, whom the King styled his "enemies and rebels," having collected numerous ships, galleys, barges,

[a] Walsingham, p. 154.

[b] Fœdera, III. 31. The Earl of Suffolk appears to have been then reappointed admiral of the northern fleet; for though his commission is not enrolled, a space is left (apparently) for it on the roll, under the commission to the Earl of Arundel, and he certainly held that office early in March. His lieutenant was Reginald Donyngton.

[c] Ibid. p. 32.

[d] Ibid. p. 33.

[e] Ibid. p. 35.

[f] Ibid. p. 44.

[g] Ibid. pp. 47—51.

A. D. 1345. and flutes, for the purpose of landing on the English
July. coast, to commit all kinds of injuries.[a]

Edward arrived at Sluys about the 5th of July, to meet the deputies of the city of Flanders, hoping to induce them to transfer their allegiance from their own sovereign to the Prince of Wales. Failing in his object, and his ally, the celebrated Van Arteveldt, having been murdered, Edward determined to return to England, vowing vengeance against the Flemings,[b] and saying that Arteveldt's death should be most dearly paid for. He landed at Sandwich on the 26th of July,[c] after an absence of twenty-three days.

August. In August the English fleet was reinforced by some ships and galleys from Bayonne, of which Bernard de Toulouse was admiral.[d] These vessels had taken Cornet Castle, in Jersey; and Toulouse was commanded to deliver up that castle to Sir Thomas de Ferrers, and return to Bayonne.[e] On the 28th of August orders were issued to the two admirals, the Earls of Arundel and Suffolk, and to their lieutenants, to arrest every ship of thirty tons and upwards, and to send them to Portsmouth by the 7th of October, for the King's passage to France;[e] but Edward having postponed his departure, security was taken from the masters of those ships, that they would be at Portsmouth by the middle of February.[f]

A. D. 1346. Various circumstances prevented Edward from leaving England until July 1346, and scarcely any Naval

[a] Fœdera, III. 53.

[b] Froissart, I. 204—206. He says that the last debate between the Flemings and Edward took place on board his ship, the "Katherine," which was "si grande et si grosse que merveilles étoit à regarder," p. 204.

[c] Fœdera, III. 53.

[d] Ibid. p. 56.

[e] Ibid. p. 57.

[f] Rot. Vascon. p. 117.

proceeding occurred before that month, except preparations for his expedition. On the 1st of January all ships of thirty tons and upwards, flutes, and barges, were ordered to be at Portsmouth early in the ensuing month;[a] but, as the King was advised to defer his passage until after mid-lent, the 26th of March, these ships were directed to be there by that time,[b] and Peter Donyngan, who was appointed admiral of the Bayonnese ships, some of which were then in England, was commanded, on the 4th of February, to arrest more ships at Bayonne for the King's service.[c] A.D. 1346. January. February.

As the fleet could not assemble at Portsmouth at mid-lent, owing to tempestuous weather, Edward postponed his voyage until after Easter;[d] and commands were issued on the 6th of April to the lieutenant of the Earl of Arundel to impress all ships, flutes, crayers, and barges, carrying ten tons and upwards, and capable of conveying men and provisions beyond sea, which might be found in the ports and sea of his admiralty,[e] and to send them to Portsmouth.[f] The usual measures were then taken for the defence of the coast of Southampton and other places against invasion during the King's absence.[g] April.

Edward arrived at Porchester about the 20th of June; and on the 2nd of July he wrote to the cardinals who had been sent by the Pope to put an end to hostilities, saying, that, as he was then on his passage, ready to proceed to France, he was not at leisure to speak with them.[h] The King embarked from the Isle June. July.

[a] Fœdera, III. 66.
[b] Ibid. p. 70.
[c] Ibid. p. 68.
[d] Fœdera, III. 71, 76.
[e] "quos infra portus et loca maritima admiratûs prædicti."
[f] Fœdera, III. 78.
[g] Ibid. pp. 77, 78, 81, 86.
[h] Ibid. p. 84.

A. D. 1346. July. of Wight on the 10th, and sailed on the 11th of July[a] with a fleet, which has been estimated by some writers at a thousand,[b] and by others at sixteen hundred sail, eleven hundred having, it is said, been large ships, and five hundred small vessels.[c] Edward was accompanied by his son, the young Prince of Wales, numerous earls, barons, bannerets, and knights, four thousand men-at-arms, and ten thousand archers, besides Irish and

[a] The value of the simplest record in refuting positive statements by mere dates was never more strikingly shewn than in this instance. Murimuth (p. 98) and Walsingham (p. 156) agree in saying that the King sailed on the 3rd of July; and Froissart (I. 217), in which he is supported by Avesbury (p. 123), Murimuth, and Walsingham, states that the ostensible, if not the actual destination of this formidable armament was Gascony, and especially to relieve Aiguillon, which was closely besieged by the Duke of Normandy, but the troops were ignorant whither they were going. The fleet proceeded towards Gascony, says Froissart, with a fair wind for three days, when, the wind changing, the ships were forced back on the coast of Cornwall, and lay at anchor for six days. The King was then induced, by the advice of Sir Godfrey de Harcourt, a French knight, who had lately entered his service, to land in Normandy. Orders were accordingly issued to sail, and Edward, declaring that he himself would be admiral in that voyage, took the ensign from the Admiral the Earl of Warwick, and, running ahead, led the fleet, with a fair wind. ("Et il même prit l'enseigne de l'amiral le Count de Warvick, et voulut lui-même être amiral pour ce voyage, et se mit tout devant comme patron et gouverneur de toute la navie.") The Earls of Suffolk and Arundel, and not the Earl of Warwick, were then, however, the two admirals of the fleet. But it is certain that the King did not leave England until the 11th of July; for on the 10th several instruments were dated "supra mare juxta Insulam Victam in arreptum passagii nostri," and the teste of one on the 11th is "apud portum Sanctæ Elenæ in Insula Victa," (Fœdera, III. 85.) Other records shew that he was at Porchester on the 3rd, 4th, and 8th; at Portsmouth and Freshwater on the 5th; at Yarmouth in the Isle of Wight on the 6th, 7th, and 8th; and again at Freshwater on the 9th of July. It is also certain that Edward arrived at La Hogue on the Wednesday the 12th of July, (*vide* p. 91, *post*,) so that he could not have been more than twenty-four hours on his passage. If, therefore, the King changed his plan of operations, it was before he sailed; and it is not improbable that he went on board and remained in his ship several days before he quitted England.

[b] Avesbury, p. 123.

[c] Knyghton, 2585. Southey (I. 291) says the fleet consisted of seven hundred sail, only fifty of which were large vessels, half being the King's, and half London ships. His authority is Bree's "Cursory Sketch," from two Harleian MSS.; but the fleet there mentioned seems to have been that which was afterwards collected for the siege of Calais. The total number of ships in that statement is seven hundred and forty-seven.

Welsh foot-soldiers;[a] but, as has been justly observed,[b] the number of ships was probably exaggerated, or the amount of the troops much underrated. A. D. 1340 July.

On Wednesday the 12th of July they arrived at La Hogue, and the King landed as soon as the ships had anchored, but it was not until Tuesday the 18th that all the troops, horses, and stores were disembarked. An accident befel Edward which was thought to foretell disaster, but by his presence of mind he gave a different interpretation to the omen. The moment his foot touched the shore, he fell with such violence, that the blood flowed from his nose, on which his knights exclaimed, "Dear Sir, return to your ship, and never land here, for this is a bad sign for you."—"Why?" replied he,—"it is a good sign, for it shews that the land wishes for me."[c]

Few historical events are described with more fulness and accuracy than the proceedings of the expedition after it arrived at La Hogue. As soon as the troops had landed, the King conferred the honour of knighthood upon the Prince of Wales, who was in his seventeenth year, and on the Earl of Salisbury, Sir Roger Mortimer, and on a few other young noblemen.[d] Great part of the fleet was ordered to return to England,[e] but two hundred ships, with one hundred men-at-arms and

[a] Froissart, I. 217.

[b] M. Buchon, Ibid. I. 217.

[c] Froissart, I. 219, 220.

[d] Rot. Parl. II. 163; Fœdera, III. 90; Cotton MS. Tiberius, A. VI. f. 19.

[e] Avesbury, 123. A contemporary Italian writer makes Edward say, in his address to his army before he embarked, that it was necessary they should act courageously, as it was his intention to send the fleet back to England as soon as he landed in France; and adds that sealed orders were issued to the admirals, which they were not to open except in case of separation, informing them where they were to land. Storia di Giovanni Villani, 8vo. 1587, pp. 871, 872.

A. D. 1346. July. four hundred archers, under the Earl of Huntingdon, were sent to ravage the coast.[a]

Eleven French ships, eight of which had fore and stern castles, fell into the King's hands, and were burnt at La Hogue;[b] and on the 14th some soldiers entered Barfleur, and were surprised to find the place deserted; but nine ships, with fore and stern castles, two good crayers, and other smaller vessels lying in the harbour, were set on fire by the English squadron. As soon as the troops quitted Barfleur, the sailors burnt the place,[c] and many other towns and houses in the vicinity. The whole coast, from Rouen to Caen, a distance of one hundred and twenty miles,[d] was ravaged with fire and sword; and every thing that could be brought away was carried to the ships. Cherbourg and its beautiful abbey fell a prey to the flames; and sixty-one ships of war, each having fore and stern castles, and twenty-three crayers, besides smaller vessels, laden with from twenty to thirty tuns of wine, were captured and burnt.[e]

The King marched from La Hogue on the 18th of July, and overpowering all resistance, took Caen, after a sharp conflict. From Caen, on the 30th of that month, he wrote the following letter to the Archbishop of York, describing what had taken place since he left England, whence it appears that his fleet had destroyed more than one hundred sail of the enemy:—

[a] Froissart, I. 220.

[b] Knyghton (2585) states that the English found thirty large ships and galleys at La Hogue, which they captured.

[c] Froissart says Barfleur was not set on fire.

[d] "q'amounta a $\overset{xx}{vj}$. lieges Engleis;" *i. e. miles*, and it is about 120 miles from Rouen to La Hogue.

[e] Letter from Michael de Northburgh, clerk of the council with the King, in Avesbury, 123—127.

"Edward, by the grace of God King of England and A. D. 13
of France, and Lord of Ireland, to the honourable fa- July.
ther in God W., by the same grace Archbishop of York, Primate of England, greeting.—As we know well that you are desirous to hear good news of us, we inform you, that we arrived at La Hogue, near Barfleur, the 12th day of July last past, with all our forces well and safe, praise be to God, and remained there to disembark our forces and horses, and the provisions of our forces, until the Tuesday next following, on which day we removed with our host towards Valonges, and took the castle and town, and then, on our route, we rebuilt the bridge of Ouve, which was broken by our enemies, and passed it, and took the castle and town of Carentone; and from thence we kept the direct route towards the town of Saint Lo, and found the bridge Herbert, near that town, broken to prevent our passage, and we caused it to be rebuilt, and the next morning took the town. And we proceeded direct to Caen, without stopping one day from the time of our departure from La Hogue until our arrival there; and then, on our taking up our quarters at Caen, our people began to attack the town, which was strongly garrisoned, and filled with about one thousand six hundred men-at-arms, and more than thirty thousand armed commoners, who defended it very well and ably, so that the fight was very severe, and continued long, but praise be to God, the town was at last taken by assault, without loss of our people. There were taken the Count of Eu, Constable of France; the Chamberlain Tankerville, who was for the time styled Marshal of France, and about one hundred and forty other bannerets and knights, and a great

A. D. 1346. July. number of esquires and rich burgesses; and several nobles, knights, and gentlemen, and a great number of the commons, were slain. And our fleet, which remained near us, to burn and destroy all the sea-coast from Barfleur to the 'foss' of Coleville,[a] near Caen, has burnt the town of Cherbourg and the ships in the harbour; and of the enemy's large ships and other vessels above one hundred and more have been burnt either by us or by our people. Therefore we pray you devoutly to render thanks to God for the success which He has thus granted us, and earnestly entreat Him to give us a good continuance of it; and that you write to the prelates and clergy of your province, that they do the same; and that you notify this circumstance to our people in your neighbourhood to their comfort; and that you laboriously exert yourself to oppose our enemies the Scots, for the security of our people in your vicinity, by all the means in your power, so that we may rely entirely on you; for, with the consent of all our nobles, who shewed a great and unanimous desire that we should do so, we have already resolved to hasten towards our adversary, wherever he may be, from one day to another, as well as we can; and we trust firmly in God, that He will protect us well and honourably in our undertaking, and that in a short time you will hear good and agreeable news from us. Given under our privy seal, at Caen, the 30th day of July, in the twentieth year of our reign in England."[b]

On the 25th of July the ships in every port were

[a] Coleville is a small port near the entrance of the river Orme.

[b] Translated from a contemporary copy in French in the Chronicle of Lanercost in the MS. Claudius D. VII., lately edited by the Rev. Joseph Stevenson.

ordered to be fitted out, and the sea-coasts prepared to resist the attacks of numerous galleys which were expected.[a] The siege of Aiguillon, in Gascony, produced a few encounters on the river. When the English perceived that the Duke of Normandy[b] was constructing a bridge, they manned three small ships, and drove away the workmen, as well as the soldiers who defended them, and destroyed what had been built. The French, greatly irritated, equipped three vessels, and filling them with Genoese and other bow-men, ordered the workmen to proceed, under their protection. But the next day Sir Walter Manny and some of his followers went on board their ships, and after a sharp conflict, in which many were killed and wounded, they compelled the enemy's workmen to retire, again destroying all that had been done. These rencounters were repeated every day for some time, but at length the French succeeded in constructing their bridge, and the army crossed the river.[c] A. D. 1346. July.

The glory of the battle of Sluys was rivalled by that of Cressy, on the 25th of August; and Edward immediately afterwards laid siege to Calais. As the town was at the same time closely blockaded by his fleet, several naval transactions, and some, though unimportant, conflicts took place. On the 6th of September the merchants of England were invited to send provisions and stores for the use of the army before Calais;[d] but, as the ships and war-galleys of the enemy were cruising to prevent those supplies from being received, the King ordered ships to be sent against them;[e] and August. September.

[a] Fœdera, III. 87.
[b] Eldest son of the King of France, afterwards King John the Second.
[c] Froissart, I. 214.
[d] Fœdera, III. 89.
[e] Ibid. p. 91.

A. D. 1346. September. several knights and men-at-arms were directed to proceed to Sandwich and embark in them.[a]

Parliament met on the 11th of September; and on the 13th, Sir Bartholomew de Burghersh, Sir John Darcy the chamberlain, and others, appeared with a letter from the King, informing the prelates, "grantz," and commons of the battle of Cressy. An ordinance, called the "Ordinance of Normandy," which had been made by the French monarch, to destroy and annihilate the English realm and language, was then read, shewing that a large army and fleet were to be raised for the invasion of this country by the Duke of Normandy, who, in the event of success, was to become King of England. Parliament granted the King a fifteenth for the support of his army; and measures were provided for the defence of the realm. The commons requested that the sea might be defended at the King's expense only, and that the people should thenceforward be released from that burthen; but they were told that the former usage was to be continued, and that there were no better means of defending the sea by the King, than that he should remain abroad to carry on the war for the defence of that country.[b]

November. Towards the end of November fifty fishing-vessels, with ten suitable boats, together with ladders and clays, were required for the siege;[c] and on the 12th December. of December ships were provided at Sandwich, to

[a] Fœdera, III. 91, 93.

[b] Rot. Parl. II. 157—161. M. Jal has given a list of part of the French fleet under Sir Pierre Flotte, Seigneur d'Escolle, dit Floton de Revel, and two vice-admirals, from May to October 1346, consisting of thirty-two Genoese galleys commanded by Sir Charles Grimaldi, in each of which were two hundred and ten men. Archéologie Navale, II. 338.

[c] Fœdera, III. 94, 95.

convey the large reinforcements which the King had ordered to be sent to him.[a] A. D. 1346.

For the reduction of Calais it was absolutely necessary that Edward should endeavour to obtain the command of the Channel, as well for the reinforcement and supplies of his own army, and to protect the coast of England from aggression, as to prevent the besieged from receiving provisions by sea. Every effort was consequently made to increase the navy; and a numerous fleet, consisting of about fifty ships, each with fore and stern castles, and seven hundred barges, balingers, and transports, and sixteen thousand one hundred and twenty mariners, were raised.[b]

On the 15th of February 1347 all the sea-ports were ordered to send from one to four of their most substantial inhabitants to the council at Westminster, to give an account of the state of shipping in those places;[c] and two knights or other persons were summoned from the maritime counties, to advise the government on the best means of defending the coast from invasion.[d] The admirals, the Earls of Arundel and Suffolk, or their lieutenants, and all sheriffs and mayors, were directed to impress ships for the conveyance of troops.[d] Sir John Montgomery was appointed admiral of the western fleet on the 23rd of February;[e] and on the 8th of March Sir John Howard was made admiral of the northern fleet,[f] apparently in the places of the Earls of Arundel and Suffolk. The King's A. D. 1347. February. March.

[a] Fœdera, III. 98.

[b] Roll of Calais, in the Harleian MSS. 246 and 78; Cotton MS. Titus E. III. This Roll has been repeatedly printed; but neither the original, nor any contemporary copy of it, has been found.

[c] Fœdera, III. 105.

[d] Ibid. p. 106.

[e] Ibid. p. 109. [f] Ibid. p. 111.

A. D. 1347. council determined that one hundred and twenty large ships, namely, sixty from each of the two admiralties, every ship having a crew of sixty well armed mariners and twenty skilful archers, should be sent to sea. These vessels were to rendezvous at Sandwich by the 2nd of April;[a] and twelve galleys were also obtained from the Genoese.[b]

April. About the middle of April Edward had the mortification of seeing thirty ships and galleys enter Calais with provisions and stores, and sail again unmolested; but from that moment he effectually blockaded the town, the Earl of Warwick keeping the command of

May the Channel with eighty ships.[c] In May the Earl of Lancaster brought great reinforcements to the King;[d] and not long afterwards, the Earl of Oxford, Lord Stafford, and Sir Walter Manny, put to sea with a large fleet, and meeting some French ships laden with provisions for Calais, they captured twenty of those vessels, besides many galleys.[e]

June. On the 25th of June a convoy of forty-four vessels, laden with provisions for Calais, was intercepted by a squadron commanded by the Earls of Northampton and Pembroke. The particulars of that affair, and the singular manner in which a letter from the commander of Calais to his sovereign was found, stating the wretched condition of the garrison and inhabitants, and informing him, that unless immediately relieved, the place must surrender, is well described by a person who was in the English army:—

[a] Fœdera, III. 112.
[b] Ibid. p. 117.
[c] Knyghton, 2592.
[d] Ibid. 2592; Fœdera, III. 121.
[e] Knyghton, 2593.

"Most dear Sir,—Be pleased to know, that, on the morrow of St. John,[a] the wind, which had been westerly, turned to the east at the hour of tierce,[b] and that the Earls of Northampton and Pembroke, and the Lords Morley, Talbot, Bradstone, and the two Admirals, with a large body of archers of their retinue, and the commons, entered our ships and sailed towards Boulogne and Crotoye to seek the enemy, who intended to victual Calais. About the hour of vespers[c] they met the enemy near Crotoye, who had forty-four vessels, flutes, galleys, and victuallers, laden with provisions. Such of the enemy's vessels as were in the rear threw their provisions into the sea, and some of them sailed towards England, and others towards the port of Crotoye. The ten galleys, which had abandoned their boats and their cargoes, made for the sea; and one flute and twelve victuallers, which were in the van, were so hotly pursued that they ran as close to the land as they could, when all on board leapt into the sea and were drowned, so that not a single person returned alive to his vessel. But, the night following, about daybreak, two boats came from the town,[d] which, being soon perceived by a mariner called William Roke, with one Hikeman Stephen, one boat returned to the town with great difficulty, but the other was chased on shore, in the which boat was taken a great master, who was the patron of the Genoese galleys and of the Genoese who were in the town, and with him seventeen of those persons and full forty letters. But before the said patron was taken, he fastened an important letter to a hatchet, and threw it into the sea; but this

A. D. 13[illegible] June.

[a] 25th of June.
[b] Between 9 A. M. and noon.
[c] About 4 P. M.
[d] Calais.

A. D. 1347. letter and hatchet were found when the water ebbed, of which you will find the copy enclosed within this. And what I have sent to you before this time touching this matter, know that it is truth, for I have heard it from a knight who was with the ships."[a]

September. Calais surrendered on the 3rd of September, after a gallant defence of more than twelve months; and having concluded a truce with his adversary until the beginning of July, the King landed at Sandwich on the

October. 12th of October.[b] His usual fate attended him even in this short passage, for his ships were dispersed by a storm, and many knights and others lost; and he is said to have exclaimed, "O blessed Mary! holy Lady! why is it, and what does it portend, that in going to France I enjoy a favourable wind, a calm sea, and all things prosper with me, but that in returning to England all kinds of misfortunes befal me?"[c]

While Edward was besieging Calais, the battle of Neville's Cross, the capture of David the Second, and other important events took place, but they produced no Naval transaction. On the 30th of May Andrew Guldford, the King's sergeant-at-arms, had been made admiral and keeper of the coasts of Ireland, with orders to arrest all French and Scottish enemies and their vessels in Ireland, together with those that carried provisions for their use.[d] Though great success had generally attended the English at sea as well as on land in this war, the French nevertheless inflicted

[a] Avesbury, p. 156; who also gives a copy of the letter to the King of France before mentioned.

[b] Fœdera, III. 139. Calais was ordered to be the place for landing passengers and horses, instead of Whitsand and Boulogne, on the 24th of November. Ibid. 142.

[c] Murimuth, p. 100; Walsingham, p. 158.

[d] Rot. Scot. I. 698.

some severe injuries upon them. This fact is strikingly shewn by a petition which was presented to the King in council from the inhabitants of Budleigh, in Devonshire in 1348. It stated, that, as their town was an ancient demesne, and was situated on the sea-coast, they were charged with the defence of the sea against enemies; that they had been ruined by the enemy, who had taken three ships and twelve boats, with one hundred and forty men, merchants, and mariners, who were the richest in the place, since the preceding Easter, some of whom had been killed, and the others made prisoners; and that, though part had been ransomed, the remainder were still in prison, unable to purchase their freedom, in consequence of having been plundered of all their goods.[a] On the 6th of August several large ships of war were ordered to convey provisions and stores for the English army in Scotland.[b]

A. D. 1347. A. D. 1348.

In January 1348 forty ships were ordered to be provided by the western ports, and to assemble at Plymouth, to carry the Princess Joan, the King's daughter, to Bordeaux,[c] who was intended to be married to the eldest son of the King of Castile. As the King of France had, contrary to good faith, made preparations for war by raising a large body of troops, and fitting out ships and galleys, with a greater force than had ever been heard of, intending to invade the realm,[d] it was necessary to adopt measures for resisting him.

January.

On the 14th of March Sir Walter Manny was appointed admiral of the northern, and Sir Reginald

March.

[a] Rot. Parl. II. 213.
[b] Rot. Scot. I. 700.
[c] Fœdera, III. 146, 149, 151, 156. The Princess died at Bordeaux soon after her arrival.
[d] Rot. Parl. II. 200.

A. D. 1348. Cobham of the western fleet;[a] and in April Ameriglio
April. de Pavia was made captain and leader of the King's galleys.[b] But Manny appears to have been soon after
June. superseded, for on the 6th of June Sir Robert Morley was again appointed admiral of the northern fleet.[c] In
July. July directions were issued for impressing mariners to man the King's ships called the "Katherine," the "Welfare," the "Cog John," the "St. Mary Cog," and three other large ships then lately taken at sea from the French.[d] These vessels were probably captured during the blockade of Calais,[e] and the names of some of them suggest that they were originally English. Edward having levied an army, and intending, at the expiration of the truce, to proceed in person to France, orders were sent to all the ports for every vessel that might be laden with wool or other merchandize instantly to discharge her cargo, and to be ready to proceed in the King's service, as his admiral might direct.[f] The ships, and a large body of troops, assembled at Sandwich, and Edward arrived there about the
October. 27th or 28th of October; but on the 18th of Novem-
November. ber the truce was renewed with France, and the expedition was abandoned.

Those piratical acts which disgraced the earlier periods of Naval history had now become of rare occur-
A. D. 1349. rence; but in 1349 a ship of Scarborough, belonging to Adam de Selby, laden with salt, timber, and sea-coal, was boarded on her passage from Newcastle

[a] Fœdera, III. 156, 157.

[b] Ibid. p. 159. Lingard (IV. 82) is mistaken in saying that Edward entrusted this Italian with the command of his *fleet;* and, as Monsieur Buchon has pointed out, (I. 274,) it is very doubtful if, as Froissart states, he were ever captain of Calais.

[c] Fœdera, III. 162.

[d] Ibid. p. 165.

[e] Vide p. 95, *ante.*

Fœdera, III. 174.

to Berwick by Walter atte Park and other Scottish "pirates," near Coket-Eland, and, having killed the master and crew, they took the vessel to Dunbar.[a] On the 17th of August Sir John Beauchamp, one of the first knights of the Order of the Garter, and captain of Calais, was appointed admiral of a fleet, to protect merchants and others on their passage to that and other places.[b] A. D. 1349.

About the 1st of November a Spanish squadron, under the command of Don Carlos de la Cerda, son of the celebrated Don Luis of Spain, arrived at Guerrande, in Brittany, whence it proceeded towards Bordeaux, and, notwithstanding the truce, captured several English ships laden with wine, whose crews they put to death;[c] but these and similar aggressions were signally avenged. November.

Though the following circumstance has little relation to Naval history, it exhibits the romantic gallantry of Edward's character in so remarkable a manner, that it ought not to be omitted. Towards the end of December he was informed that the French treacherously intended to surprise the garrison of Calais, and taking with him the Prince of Wales and nine hundred soldiers, he embarked at Dover for its relief. The attempt was made about the 2nd of January 1350, and A. D. 1350.

[a] Rot. Scot. I. 728.

[b] Fœdera, III. 187, 188. On the 20th of March 1350, Philip de Whitton was appointed his lieutenant. Ibid. p. 194.

[c] Avesbury, p. 185; Knyghton's account (col. 2692) is rather different. He says, "About this time the Spaniards returned from Eastland with a large fleet and powerful force, having much treasure and a great quantity of merchandize, and arrived at Sluys, in Flanders. And they robbed at sea all they could, and slew many English, and committed much evil. On their arrival at Sluys they met the English fleet proceeding to Gascony to obtain wine; and they seized their goods, and slew a large number of English about the sea-coast of Brittany: whereupon King Edward sent to Flanders to remove them."

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A. D. 1350. the King and Prince fighting under the banner of Sir Walter Manny, Edward risked a life of the highest value to his people, in a personal combat with a French knight, by whom he was twice struck down, but whom he eventually overcame, and whose bravery he rewarded with princely generosity.[a]

May. In May 1350, orders were issued to man the King's ships called the "Cog Thomas," of which William Passelewe was master, and Robert Shipman constable, with one hundred of the best sailors; the cog "Edward," commanded by William Piers; and the ships "Jonette," Walter Langdale; "Plenty," John Wille; "Isabella," John Ram; "Gabriel," John Rokke; "Michael," John Maikyn; "Welfare," John Stygey;[b] and the "Mariote," with from thirty to eighty mariners each.[c] Others of the King's ships, which, as well as those above named, appear to have fought the battle with the Spaniards off Winchelsea in August in this year, were the "Jerusalem," the "Thomas Beauchamp," the "Mary," the "Godibiate," the "John," the "Edmund," the "Falcon," the "Buchett," and the "Lawrence,"[d] besides ships for the King's hall[e] and wardrobe. Each of these vessels was furnished with two standards and two streamers before they put to sea;[d] and rigging and stores, together with carpenters and other workmen, were also provided for

July. ships, pinnaces, and barges.[f] On the 22nd of July

[a] Froissart, I. 277; Avesbury, p. 180. The public records do not notice the King's departure, nor his return to England, at this time.

[b] As it is nearly certain that these ships were in the battle of the 29th of August, the names of their masters ought to be preserved.

[c] Fœdera, III. 195.

[d] Roll marked "W. N." 1215. See the remarks on colours in a subsequent page.

[e] Froissart, I. 286.

[f] Fœdera, III. 196.

Sir Robert Morley was re-appointed admiral of the northern fleet;[a] and the next day ships and sailors were directed to be arrested and sent to Sandwich.[b] These preparations arose from the King's resolution to take vengeance on the Spaniards, whose fleet had arrived at Sluys for merchandize, and was about to return to Spain. Aware of Edward's intention to attack him, La Cerda armed his ships with every kind of artillery and missile, among which were large bars of iron, and filled them with soldiers, cross-bowmen, and archers.[c] The love of glory, and the desire of punishing a perfidious enemy,—perhaps the strongest of Edward's passions,—determined him to take the command of his own fleet. His example was eagerly followed by the Prince of Wales and many other young warriors, who were anxious to serve in the ships, that they might add a Naval wreath to the laurels which they had recently gained at Cressy. A. D. 1351. July.

On the 10th of August, when the King was at Rotherhithe, he issued mandates to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, stating, that the Spaniards had robbed the ships and slain the subjects of England at sea, and that they had collected an immense fleet[d] in Flanders, with which they not only boasted that they would utterly destroy the English shipping and obtain the dominion of the English sea, but threatened to invade the realm and exterminate the people. He said that he was about to proceed against them; and the prelates were desired to cause divine service to be celebrated, processions made, and alms given, to propitiate Him upon whom victory depends.[e] August.

[a] Fœdera, III. 200.
[b] Rot. Franc. p. 47; Avesbury, p. 185.
[c] Froissart, I. 285.
[d] "immensâ classe."
[e] Fœdera, III. 201.

A. D. 1350. August. The King proceeded to Winchelsea about the middle of August, accompanied by the Queen, and by his two sons, the Prince, and John of Gaunt, Earl of Richmond, by the Earl of Lancaster[a] and Derby, the Earls of Arundel, Hereford, Northampton, Suffolk, and Warwick, the Lords Percy, Stafford, Moubray, Neville, Clifford, Roos, Greystock, and Berkeley, Sir Reginald Cobham, Sir Walter Manny, Sir Thomas Holand, and Sir Robert de Namur, and nearly four hundred knights; and it is said that on no former occasion was he attended by so many great lords.[b]

Edward embarked about the 28th of August, apparently in his favourite ship the "Cog Thomas," and the Prince of Wales and the other great personages, with their respective retinues of men-at-arms and archers, were dispersed among the other vessels. Though the Earl of Richmond, who was only ten years of age, was too young to wear armour, he would not be separated from his brother, and accompanied the Prince in his ship. To Sir Robert de Namur, a gallant young knight, son of John Count of Namur, and afterwards a knight of the Garter, the King gave the command of a ship called "La Salle du Roi," ("The King's Hall,") in which were the Royal household.[c] No contemporary writer mentions the number of the English ships, but modern authorities state that Edward had fifty ships and pinnaces.[d]

As soon as the King embarked he made his arrange-

[a] Froissart calls him *Duke* of Lancaster; but he did not obtain that dignity until the following year.

[b] Froissart, I. 285.

[c] Ibid. p. 286. "Une nef que on appelloit la salle du Roi où tous ses hôtels étoient." The ship was so designated from having the persons who formed the King's "hall," or household, on board. See the remarks on the duties of Admirals in a subsequent page.

[d] Stow, 250.

ments, and explained in what manner the ships were to act and fight. Edward, who placed himself in the bow of his ship, wore a black velvet jacket and a beaver hat of the same colour, "which well became him," and he was in higher spirits than had ever been known, says Froissart, who adds, "that he was told so by those who were then with him on that day;" an important assertion, because it justifies the inference that he derived his account of the battle from those who were present. They are said to have remained three days at anchor,[a] waiting for the Spaniards; and to beguile the time the King caused his minstrels to play a German dance, which Sir John Chandos had recently introduced, and he made Chandos sing with them; but from time to time the King looked aloft at the man whom he had placed in the castle at the top of the mast, to announce the approach of the Spaniards. A. D. 13 August.

Having completed their rich cargoes, and the wind being fair, the Spaniards disanchored and put to sea. They had forty large ships, all of the same class, "so strong and so handsome that it was a pleasure to look at them." Each mast, to which innumerable standards and banners were suspended, was surmounted by the usual embattled platform or "top," filled with stones and flints, and protected by soldiers. In men they were very superior to the English;[b] and they felt so

[a] Froissart (I. 285) mentions no other locality than saying that the English fleet lay at anchor three days between Dover and Calais; but all other authorities state that the action was fought off Winchelsea. It is, moreover, doubtful whether the King embarked before the 28th, as he was at Winchelsea on that day. Fœdera, III. 202.

[b] "Ces Espagniols étoient bien dix contre un, parmi les soudoyers que ils avoient pris et retenus à gages en Flandre." Johnes renders the passage, perhaps from some other edition, "the Spaniards were full ten thousand men."

A. D. 1350. August. confident of success, that though the English were very desirous of meeting them, the Spaniards are represented to have been still more eager for the combat.

About four o'clock in the afternoon of Sunday the 29th of August, being a few miles[a] off Winchelsea, and the wind about north-east, blowing fresh, while Edward was amusing himself with his knights, who were happy to see him so joyful, the look-out man exclaimed, "Ho! I see something coming, which seems to be a Spanish ship." The minstrels were instantly silenced, and the man being asked if he saw more? he replied, "Yes, I see two," then "three," then "four." As soon as the whole fleet became visible, he said, "I see so many, as, may God help me! I cannot count them." The King knowing that these ships must be the Spaniards, ordered the trumpets to sound, and every preparation was made for battle. If the English fleet were not at that moment under sail, it must have immediately weighed, as it is certain that the action did not take place at anchor. Edward then called for wine, and he and all his knights having drunk, they placed their bacinets on their heads in readiness for the fray.

[a] Avesbury, and the Continuation of Murimuth (p. 102); Otterbourne (p. 134). Walsingham (p. 160) states the battle was fought "juxta Winchelse, in festo vero decollacionis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, (*i. e.* 29th August,) A.D. 1350." Knyghton (col. 2692) says, no doubt erroneously, that it occurred on the Sunday next before the feast of the Assumption, *i e.* on the 8th of August. Froissart gives neither locality nor date. The date is, however, fixed to the 29th of August, by a document, which, from not being fully understood by Mr. James, in his "Life of the Black Prince," (II. 109,) was his principal reason for thinking that "the date of this great victory is very obscure." On the 2nd of November a patent was granted to Sir Thomas Banestre, stating, that, in consideration of his good service in the late battle with the Spaniards on the sea, he being then in the retinue of Henry Earl of Lancaster, the King had pardoned him the death of Ralph de Blackburn, whom he was said to have slain "*before the 29th of August last past;*" whence it is evident that the services which obtained his pardon were performed on that day.

As the Spaniards had a fair wind, and their ships were large and in good trim,[a] they might, if they had pleased, have avoided an engagement; but they were too proud and too presumptuous to do so, and bore right down upon the English in line of battle. Edward then said to the steersman of his ship, "Lay me against that Spaniard who is coming, for I wish to joust with him." Not daring to disobey the King, the sailor placed the ship as he was ordered, and the Spaniard coming swiftly before the wind, struck the King's vessel with great violence.[b] From the concussion the top on the mast of Edward's ship came in contact with that of the enemy, and carried away his mast, and all who were in the top were drowned. The King's vessel suffered so much from the shock that she sprang a leak, but the knights baled out the water, and concealed the circumstance from him. Edward then said: "Grapple my ship to that, for I wish to have her." His knights, however, replied, "Let her go, you shall have a better;" and she passed on. Another large ship then approached, and the King's knights having fastened his ship to her with iron chains and hooks, a hard and fierce fight ensued. The ardour of his retinue received fresh impulse from the sinking state of their ship; and after a short but severe contest, they boarded and carried the enemy, throwing all who opposed them into the sea. Edward was then made acquainted with the dangerous condition of his ship, into which the water was pouring; and by the advice of his knights, A. D. 13[illegible] August.

[a] "bien frétés."

[b] "La nef du Roy étoit forte et bien loyée, autrement elle eût été rompue; car elle et la nef Espaignole, qui étoit grande et grosse, s'encontrèrent de telle ravine que ce sembla une tempête qui la fût chue."

A. D. 1350. August. he removed with them to his prize. Having abandoned his own ship, he proceeded in the Spanish vessel against the enemy, who fought most valiantly, and their cross-bowmen greatly annoyed their assailants. Most of the other English ships had by this time found an antagonist as brave and as confident as themselves, and the battle became general. The superior size and great height of the Spanish vessels, which were manned by experienced crews,[a] gave them much advantage in flinging stones and iron bars upon their adversaries.

The Prince of Wales and those under his command were separately engaged. His ship had long been grappled by a Spaniard, and suffered so much that many holes were made in her; and the water rushing in, she was in great danger. Like the King's knights, those around the Prince were stimulated by that circumstance to use every effort in capturing the enemy, but they were unable to subdue her. At this critical moment, when the people in the Prince's ship were everywhere employed in baling out the water, the Earl of Lancaster came to his assistance, and attacked the Spaniard on the other side,[a] midst shouts of "Derby to the rescue!" Thus assailed, the enemy could make only a short, but it was a gallant resistance; and as soon as she surrendered, the whole of her crew, according to the barbarous custom of the age, were thrown overboard, "not one being taken to mercy!" The Prince and his followers had but just time to get on board their prize, when his own ship foundered.

Towards evening "La Salle du Roi," commanded by

[a] "Et étoient ces Espaignols en ces grosses nefs plus hautes et plus grandes assez que les nefs Angloises ne fussent." . . . "gens usés de mer, et qui etoient en grands vaisseaux et forts." I. 287.

Sir Robert de Namur, was attacked and chained to a large Spanish vessel; but finding, after a severe conflict, that she would not surrender, the Spaniard made all sail, and going before the wind, carried her off with him, in spite of all that her crew could do to prevent it. Passing near the King's ship, the English cried out, "Rescue La Salle du Roi!" but it was late, and they were not heard, or if heard, they were not attended to. This vessel would certainly have been taken, had it not been for the wonderful gallantry, or, as Froissart calls it, "une grande appertise d'armes," of a valet of Sir Robert de Namur, called Hannekin. Seeing their imminent peril, he grasped his sword, leaped on board the Spaniard, and, running to the mast, cut the haulyards of the sail, which fell on the deck, a feat that brings to recollection the engagement off Dover in the preceding century.[a] He then, with equal adroitness, cut four of the principal ropes or shrouds that supported the mast and sail, and thus stopped the vessel's progress. Taking advantage of the confusion produced by this circumstance, Sir Robert boarded the enemy, and attacked the Spaniards so vigorously, that they were all slain or forced into the sea, and their ship was soon taken. A. D. 135(August.

After a severe action, the Spanish fleet, which had, Froissart says, "given the King of England and his people plenty to do,"[b] was entirely defeated. Twenty-four,[c] if not twenty-six,[d] large ships were captured, and

[a] Vide vol. I. p. 180.

[b] "Et donnèrent les Espaignols au Roi d'Angleterre et à ses gens moult à faire."

[c] Avesbury p. 185; Cont. of Murimuth, p. 102; Otterbourne, p. 135.

[d] Walsingham, p. 160; who says the others were sunk or put to flight. Froissart, however, states that only fourteen ships were taken.

A. D. 1350. August. the remainder took to flight. Edward then ordered his trumpets to sound a cessation of arms, and soon after nightfall his ships anchored at Rye and Winchelsea.[a] The King and the Prince of Wales, with his young brother of Richmond, hastened to relieve the fears of the Queen, who was lodged in an abbey about two leagues from the coast. Her attendants had seen the battle from the hills, and when they informed her that the Spaniards had forty large ships, she naturally felt the deepest anxiety about her husband and children. The night was spent by Edward and his knights in revelry with the ladies, conversing of love and arms; and the next day, when most of the barons and knights who had shared the honour of the engagement waited upon him, he thanked them greatly for their services, and, taking their leave, they returned to their homes.[b]

To these interesting particulars[c] of the memorable

[a] Stow, who says the Spanish vessels *surmounted our ships* "like as castles to cottages," supplies some additional particulars, and gives a different account of the conclusion of the battle, but it does not appear upon what authority, for though he cites Avesbury, that writer does not mention any of those facts. "The fight continued until they being beset with darkness of the night could not discern the twenty-seven yet remaining untaken. Our men cast anchor, studying of the hoped battle, supposing nothing finished whilst any thing remained undone, dressing the wounded, throwing the miserable Spaniards into the sea, refreshing themselves with victuals and sleep, yet committing the vigilant watch to the armed band. The night over passed, the Englishmen prepared (but in vain) to a new battle; but, when the sun began to appear, they, *viewing the seas*, could perceive no sign of resistance; for twenty-seven ships flying away by night, left seventeen spoiled in the evening, to the King's pleasure, but against their will. The King returned into England with victory and triumph: the King preferred there eighty noble imps to the order of knighthood, greatly bewailing the loss of one, to wit, Sir Richard Goldesborough, Knight." P. 250.

[b] Froissart, I. 288.

[c] The preceding narrative is almost a literal translation of Froissart. His details are entirely new to *Naval* history, and the cause is only another proof of the little attention that has been shewn to the subject. The chapter describing the battle of Espagnols sur Mer is omitted in Lord Berners' translation of Frois-

battle of "L'Espagnols sur Mer," or "Spaniards on the Sea," by which appellations it is designated in history, very little can be added, for, with the exception of Froissart, none of the contemporary chroniclers have given any details of the event. Even the amount of the English force in ships and men is not stated; and all that can be collected respecting the loss sustained on either side is, that the killed and wounded, particularly of the latter, on the part of the English, was very great. A. D. 1350 August.

In number of vessels Edward was probably superior to the Spaniards; but they had greatly the advantage in the size and height of their ships, which are everywhere said to have been exceedingly large, while the English had only the usual cogs, and some smaller vessels, called pinnaces and barges. These ships or cogs were manned, besides soldiers and archers, with from thirty to eighty men; but the "Thomas," which was apparently the King's ship, had one hundred sailors. Except the loose assertion of Froissart, that the Spaniards were "ten to one" to the English, nothing is known of the comparative amount of the crews and soldiers in the two squadrons. While all Naval, and most other, historians have described the battle as if it had been unattended by any disaster to the victors, it appears that the English lost one, if not two, of their principal ships,

sart, though it occurs in the translation by Mr. Johnes. Even Southey was satisfied with following Barnes. Hume is altogether silent respecting the battle; but Lingard has condensed Froissart's account with his usual felicitous perspicuity. The only contemporary writer who has not been cited, that mentions the battle, seems to be Minot; but his verses entitled

"How King Edward and his menye
Met with the Spaniards in the see,"

in which he says the enemy became "food for the fishes," are not worth quoting.

A. D. 1350. August. one being that of the King,[a] and the other that of the Prince of Wales, which would have foundered, and all on board have sunk with her, had not the vessel with which she was engaged been most opportunely attacked and captured by the Earl of Lancaster A third ship, "La Salle du Roi," must have been taken but for the unparalleled exploits of one of Sir Robert de Namur's retainers, who seems, from his name, to have been a German. These facts scarcely lessen the splendour of the battle, for they shew how severely it was contested, and that in two instances the English actually exchanged their small and sinking vessels for the larger and more beautiful Spanish caracks.

No other person of rank is said to have fallen than a young knight called Sir John Goldesborough, but even for his death there is no contemporary authority. The glory of the victory was shared most probably by all the peers before mentioned,[b] and it is certain that the Earl of Warwick, Sir John Sully, Sir Richard first Lord Scrope of Bolton, Sir William and Sir Henry Scrope, Sir John Boyville, Sir Robert Conyers, Sir Stephen Hales,[c] and Sir Thomas Banestre,[d] were present.

In many of its features the battle of "Espagnols sur Mer" stands unrivalled in English history. Equal valour and superior tactics have been displayed on

[a] Froissart does not expressly say that the King's ship sunk; but, unless the crew remained and conducted her into port, an inference which is not justified by his statement, such must have been her fate. His words are, the King, following the advice of his knights, "entra en la dite nef Espaignole, et aussi firent ses chevaliers, et tous cils qui dedans étoient, et laissèrent l'autre toute vide." P. 287.

[b] Vide pp. 102, 103, *ante*.

[c] Vide the depositions of these eight knights in the Scrope and Grosvenor Controversy, *passim*.

[d] Vide p. 105, note, *ante*.

many occasions, and the disparity of force was not so great as to impart unusual fame to the victors; but never before nor since was a sea-fight marked by circumstances of so chivalrous and remarkable a nature. Not only were the chief nobility and knights of England present, but they were led by their Sovereign and the Prince of Wales in person, who both participated so largely in the dangers of the day that they fought until their ships actually sunk under them; and they preserved their lives only by conquering the enemy's vessels, which, in the most literal sense, they made their own. Even the King's second son, though a mere child, was exposed to the perils of the day, and thus the renowned John of Gaunt—"time-honoured Lancaster"—made his first essay in arms, on that element which is the peculiar scene of British glory. A. D. 1350. August.

Persons of every rank emulated the heroic courage of their princes; and the intrepid conduct of the obscure Hannekin, in saving his master's ship, will lose nothing by a comparison with any modern exploit. It was, moreover, a victory over a new enemy, for though the French navy had been often conquered, the pride of Iberia was then for the first time humbled at sea by an English fleet; and the noble title of "KING OF THE SEA" was the appropriate reward bestowed by the people on their Sovereign for his Naval triumphs.[a]

The King remained at Winchelsea for a few days after his victory, and then went to Sandwich.[b] On the 8th of September he warned the inhabitants of September.

[a] Rot. Parl. II. 311. Vide a subsequent page.

[b] He was at Winchelsea on the 3rd, and at Sandwich on the 8th of September. On the 12th he was at Hertford. Fœdera, III. 203, 204.

A. D. 1350. Bayonne that the Spanish squadron was at sea, referring, no doubt, to the ships that had escaped after the fight off Winchelsea, and desiring them to disregard the truce, and to equip their ships against the October. said enemy.[a] In October measures were taken for paying the expences of ships of war to convoy the vessels going to Gascony for wine against the attacks of the Spaniards.[b] It seems that the Spanish ships November. returned to the Sluys; for on the 11th of November Sir Robert Herle, captain of Calais, and others, were constituted the King's commissioners to treat with the masters and mariners of Spain in that port and elsewhere in Flanders, for the purpose of bringing hostilities to an amicable termination.[c]

The truce with France, which was prorogued from time to time,[d] and the conclusion of a treaty of amity with Spain on the 1st of August, for twenty years,[e] account for there not being any important Naval proceedings between 1350 and 1355. There were, however, several indications of hostilities, and some actual aggressions in that period.

A. D. 1351. On the 8th of March 1351 Henry Duke of Lancaster, who had been raised to that dignity two days before, was made captain and admiral of the western, and the Earl of Northampton of the northern fleet.[f] Ships were impressed in Ireland and sent to Ports-

[a] Fœdera, III. 203.
[b] Ibid. p. 206.
[c] Ibid. p. 210.
[d] Ibid. pp. 232, 254, 260, 276. Various accounts of expenses incurred for ships, stores, rigging, armour, &c., between 1344 and 1350, are on the Rolls marked "T. G. 265," "J. P. R. 4220," "W. N. 1407," "H. C. H. 2263," "I. P. R. 20,022," "E. B. 274," which contains the cost of the King's cog "the Thomas" in 1346; "E. B. 430," "J. P. R. 7279," "F. L. H. 618," "W. N. 396." "T. G. 16,475," "T. G. 3412," and "W. N. 600."
[e] Fœdera, III. 228.
[f] Ibid. p. 215.

mouth, in readiness for the King's passage,[a] apparently to France; and as the French had collected a large force of ships and galleys, several persons of high rank were appointed in all the maritime counties, as well as in the Isle of Wight, to raise troops for the defence of the coast, in case the enemy landed.[b] Shortly afterwards the Duke of Lancaster marched from Calais with a body of soldiers to Boulogne, but seems to have been repulsed; and he revenged himself by setting the suburbs in flames, and burning all the ships[c] in the harbour. He then pillaged some places in the vicinity, and carried off much valuable property and numerous cattle.[d] Similar inroads were made by the captain of Calais to the distance of ten leagues from that town.[e] In May and June vessels were impressed to carry troops to Brittany;[f] and shipping was ordered to be prepared in November, to convey the King's eldest daughter, the Princess Isabella, who was contracted to Bernard, Seigneur de la Bret, to Gascony.[g]

A. D. 1351.

June.

November.

In January 1352, ships were required for the passage of the Seigneur de la Bret.[h] Sailors were soon after impressed to man the vessels which had been arrested in the Cinque and western ports;[i] and in March Sir Thomas Cock, a distinguished soldier, was made captain of a squadron to convoy some merchant-vessels.[k]

A. D. 1352.

January.

[a] Fœdera, III. 215.
[b] Ibid. pp. 217, 218, 220.
[c] Stow (p. 251) says, "about one hundred and twenty ships, of diverse mouldes," were burnt.
[d] Knyghton, 2601.
[e] Ibid.
[f] Rot. Franc. p. 49.
[g] Fœdera, III. 235.
[h] Ibid. p. 236.
[i] Ibid. p. 238.
[k] Rot. Vascon. p. 215. Stow (p. 253) states, that, "it being heard that pirates troubled the seas, there were seven ships of war ordained, certain pinnaces attending upon them, over the which were admirals Thomas Cooke, Richard Tottlesham, knights, who scoured the seas about the coast of Picardy and Normandy; but, before the feast of St. George, they returned as they wished."

A. D. 1352. As the truce with France was expected to expire in
June. September, the usual measures were taken in June for the protection of the sea-coast,[a] and for providing seamen for the King's ships the "Jerusalem," "St. Mary," "Edward," "Falcon," and seven others, as well as for his cogs called the "Thomas Beauchamp," "John," and the "Rode-cog."[b]

A. D. 1353. No other transaction took place in 1353 deserving of notice than the convention which was made on
October. the 20th of October between "the people, merchants, mariners, and commonalty" of Portugal and England, chiefly in relation to trade and shipping, for fifty years, and which is remarkable for the following conditions:—If Portuguese ships or goods were found in any port or place in France, which might fall into Edward's hands, they were to be protected and restored to their owners, provided the ships and men were not armed nor aiding his enemies; but, in that case, the goods were to be forfeited and the men imprisoned. In the event of Portuguese property being on board of any ship which might be captured from an enemy, it was to be brought to England until the owner could prove his right to it; and English property found by the Portuguese in ships belonging to their enemies was to be similarly treated. The fishing-boats of Portugal were to be allowed to enter all the ports of England and Brittany, paying the usual duties and customs.[c]

A. D. 1354. In March 1354 the Duke of Lancaster proceeded to Normandy, and John Gybon was made admiral of the ships which were to convey him and his reti-

[a] Fœdera, III. 245.
[b] Ibid. pp. 245, 246.
[c] Ibid. pp. 264, 265.

nue.[a] An order, issued on the 18th of that month to the admiral of the northern fleet, to provide three ships to bring the Bishop of Durham to London, to attend his parliamentary duties,[b] is sufficiently curious to be mentioned. A. D. 1354. March.

Edward having refused to renew the truce with France, it was determined, in a great council,[c] that the Prince of Wales should proceed with a powerful army to Gascony, accompanied by the Earls of Warwick, Suffolk, Salisbury, and Oxford;[d] and preparations were made for carrying on the war with vigour. Sir John Beauchamp had been appointed admiral of the western, and Sir Robert Morley of the northern fleet on the 5th of March;[e] and on the 10th the usual directions were sent to the ports for providing shipping to carry the Earl of Warwick and his troops to Gascony.[f] About the middle of April a large fleet was ordered to be collected for the passage of the Prince of Wales and his army to that province.[g] As the King's great cog was then at Sluys, messengers were despatched to bring her to England;[h] and the want of shipping was so urgent, that a Spanish vessel called the "St. Anthony of Gyteria" was seized, for which act Edward wrote a letter of apology to the King of Castile.[i] Sailors were impressed, and clays and bridges made for the ships in which horses were to be embarked.[k] On the 10th of July the Prince A. D. 1355. July.

[a] Fœdera, III. 273.
[b] Ibid. p. 275.
[c] Avesbury (p. 200) says this council was held "after Easter," *i. e.* after the 5th of April; but Knyghton (2608) states that it was held after Pentecost, *i. e.* towards the end of May.
[d] Avesbury, p. 201; Knyghton, 2608.
[e] Fœdera, III. 296. On the 27th of May, Thomas Hogshawe was made Sir John Beauchamp's lieutenant. Ibid. p. 302.
[f] Fœdera, III. 297.
[g] Ibid. pp. 229, 308.
[h] Ibid. p. 299.
[i] Ibid. p. 306.
[k] Ibid. pp. 299, 302, 303.

A. D. 1355. of Wales was constituted lieutenant of Gascony;[a] but he was detained at Plymouth by contrary winds until the 8th of September, when he sailed with about three hundred ships full of troops and stores, and arrived in the Gironde after a short passage.[b]

During the Duke of Lancaster's mission to Rome respecting a peace with France, the King of Navarre came often to him, complaining of the treatment he had received from the King of France, and proposing to ally himself with Edward against his adversary. The offer was accepted by Lancaster, and he promised that ships and troops should be sent to his assistance off the isles of Guernsey and Jersey.[c] On the duke's return to England, towards the end of June, about forty large ships[d] were fitted out at Rotherhithe, each of which is said to have borne the streamer of the Duke of Lancaster. They were filled with a select body of fifteen hundred dismounted men-at-arms and two thousand archers,[e] and victualled for three months. On the 10th of July the King[f] took command of this squadron, being accompanied by his two sons, Lionel of Antwerp and John of Gaunt, the eldest of

[a] Fœdera, III. p. 307.

[b] Avesbury, p. 201; Knyghton, 2608.

[c] Rot. Parl. II. 264.

[d] Avesbury, 201. Knyghton says "thirty-eight large ships."

[e] Knyghton, 2608. He says, "secum xv. mille" men-at-arms; but this must have been a clerical error.

[f] Avesbury says the expedition was commanded by the Duke of Lancaster, though he afterwards states that the King went to sea with it. Knyghton expressly says, "Ad Translationem Sancti Thomæ, Rex Edwardus transit cum xxxviij. magnis navibus de Londoniis per Tamesiam ad les Downes. Dux Lancastriæ Henricus erat cum eo;" and adds, that the King then made twenty-seven knights. In the speech to Parliament, in November following, it is also said that the King went in the fleet from the Thames towards Guernsey and Jersey. Edward appears to have been at Northfleet, near Gravesend, on the 1st, 15th, 16th, and 22nd of July; and was at Sandwich from the 25th of July to the 4th of August. On the 14th of September he was at Portsmouth. Fœdera, III. 305, 308, 309, 310, 312.

whom was only sixteen years old, the Duke of Lancaster, the Earls of Northampton, March, and Stafford, and many barons and knights, and arrived at Greenwich. The squadron then proceeded towards Guernsey and Jersey,[a] but was obliged to put into Sandwich, where it was detained by southerly or westerly winds until the 15th of August. With great difficulty, however, they reached Winchelsea, and afterwards the Isle of Wight. The King again put to sea, but the whole of the ships were driven by bad weather and contrary winds either into Winchelsea or Portsmouth.[b] A. D. 1355. August.

While Edward was at Portsmouth, information reached him that the King of Navarre had broken his engagement, "become French," and joined the King of France,[c] who had appeared with an immense force in the vicinity of Calais. Edward, therefore, hastened to Calais with his ships and troops.[d] On the 12th of September a proclamation was made in London for all lords, knights, men-at-arms, and archers to repair to Sandwich by the 29th of that month to accompany the King;[e] and on the 15th of September mandates were issued that no ship, large or small, nor any boat or man belonging to them, should be allowed to leave the realm, privily or openly, before that time.[f] September.

The King embarked at Sandwich, attended by his sons Lionel and John of Gaunt, Henry Duke of Lancaster, and a large retinue of nobles, towards the end of November, and was joined at Calais by stipendiaries from Flanders, Brabant, and Germany.[g] Edward November.

[a] Rot. Parl. II. 264.

[b] Avesbury, p. 202; Rot. Parl. II. 264.

[c] Rot. Parl. II. 264; Avesbury, 203, 204; Knyghton, 2610.

[d] Ibid.

[e] Avesbury, p. 204.

[f] Fœdera, III. 313.

[g] Avesbury, p. 205; Knyghton, 2610. Froissart's account of these

A. D. 1355. marched against his adversary on the 1st of November, but the French immediately fled, and were pursued by the English for four days, burning and ravaging the whole country.[a] Edward then returned to Calais, and thence to England to meet his Parliament,[a] which had been summoned to assemble on the 12th of that month. About that time the Scots invaded the realm; and having taken Berwick, Edward proceeded in person to Scotland.[b] On the 23rd of November, and again in December, orders were given to impress sailors
December. to man his ships;[c] and on the 1st of December John Colyn, lieutenant of the admiral of the northern fleet, was ordered to go with his ships to the Scottish coast.[d]

Though memorable for the success of the English army in France, and especially for the glorious victory of Cressy, there was no important Naval event in the
A. D. 1356. year 1356. The King recovered possession of Berwick, for the reduction of which place ships were arrested in all the northern ports to convey troops and provisions;[e] but twelve of those vessels were wrecked

transactions is very incorrect. He says, Edward embarked for Normandy at Southampton, intending to go to Cherbourgh, where the King of Navarre was waiting for him: that he was driven into the Isle of Wight the day after he sailed, but remained there fifteen days: that he arrived at Guernsey, where he continued seven weeks, expecting intelligence from the King of Navarre, and then returned to Southampton: that he landed his troops there to refresh themselves, after having been twelve weeks on board ship; that fifteen days afterwards they were on their march to Dover, where he had three hundred sail of vessels, and then proceeded to Calais. (I. 304, 305.) It is remarkable that no notice should occur in the public records, except the Rolls of Parliament, of the King's having left or returned to England on this occasion; and the testes of documents between July and November cannot easily be reconciled with each other.

[a] Rot. Parl. II. 264; Avesbury, p. 207.

[b] Froissart (I. 310) says Edward was in such haste to reach Berwick, that he proceeded direct from Dover, without passing through London; but the King was certainly present in Parliament on the 25th of November. Rot. Parl. II. 264.

[c] Fœdera, II. 314.

[d] Rot. Scot. I. 784.

[e] Ibid. pp. 785, 786.

on their passage, and others were driven back and dispersed.[a] Edward then marched upon Edinburgh, and was supported in the Humber by several large ships, having espringalds and other engines.[b] In January Robert Ledrede was made admiral of the fleet going to Gascony for wine;[c] and on the 1st of May Sir Guy Bryan was appointed admiral of the western fleet.[d] A. D. 1356. May.

Towards the end of May an army assembled at Southampton to be conveyed to Normandy under the Duke of Lancaster.[e] Part of these troops sailed on the 1st of June, and it created great surprise that the ships should have landed them at La Hogue and returned to Southampton in five days,[f] though the distance between those places is scarcely twenty-five leagues. The duke himself, with the remainder of his forces, sailed in fifty-two ships for La Hogue on the 18th of June.[g] In August measures were taken for defending the maritime counties, in consequence of the enemy having numerous armed galleys and ships at sea, with which they intended to invade the realm.[h] Some Scottish and other ships of war having appeared off the coast of Ireland, and captured many vessels, Robert Drouss of Cork was appointed admiral of the Irish fleet on the 18th of August to proceed against them.[i] June. August.

No fleet was ever charged with a more interesting A. D. 1357.

[a] Avesbury, p. 237; Froissart, I. 311, 312.

[b] Froissart, I. 311.

[c] Rot. Vascon. p. 127.

[d] Fœdera, III. 328.

[e] Avesbury (p. 245) says that Lancaster had been previously made captain of Brittany; but his appointment is dated 8th of August 1356. Fœdera, III. 335.

[f] "quod fuerat mirabile reputatum."

[g] Avesbury, 245, 246.

[h] Fœdera, III. 337.

[i] Ibid. p. 338.

A. D. 1357. freight than the ships which brought the Prince of Wales, his prisoner the King of France, and the other conquerors and conquered at Poictiers, to England. Prince Edward embarked at Bordeaux about the middle April. of April[a] in a beautiful large ship, accompanied by the Captal de Buch, Sir Amer de Tassy, and many Gascons; and King John was, for his greater convenience, placed in a ship by himself. As it was rumoured that the three estates of France had two large armies of soldiers[b] in Normandy and Crotoye to intercept the English and carry off the French monarch, the Prince's ships were armed with five hundred men-at-arms and two thousand archers. But nothing was seen of the enemy; and, after a passage of eleven days and nights, the Prince and his captives landed at Sandwich[c] on May. the 4th of May.[d] On the 23rd of May a truce was concluded with France which was to endure until Easter in 1359.[e]

Three Scottish ships, armed with three hundred soldiers, which had done much harm to the English trade, and slain many persons, were forced by stress

[a] "Les Chroniques de France" (c. XXXIV.) state, that the Prince embarked on Tuesday after Easter, which was the 16th of April; but, as Easter day fell on the 9th of April, the 16th must have been on a Sunday. Monsieur Buchon has noticed this discrepancy.

[b] "avoient mis sus en Normandie et au Crotoy deux grosses armées de soudoyers;" but Froissart must have meant a *naval* armament, especially as he says the Prince's ships were armed "pour les périls et les rencontres de sur mer."

[c] Froissart, I. 367.

[d] Walsingham (p. 164) and Knyghton (2615) say that the Prince landed at *Plymouth* on the 5th of May, which agrees with an order issued on the 20th of March to prepare for the Prince's reception at that port, (Fœdera, III. 348;) but Froissart describes the Prince and King of France's progress through Kent so minutely, that he could scarcely have been mistaken. They did not enter London until the 24th of May, which would agree better with a more distant place of landing than Sandwich; but the interval may have been occupied in making preparations for their reception in the capital.

[e] Fœdera, III. 348.

of weather into Yarmouth about Michaelmas, and there captured.[a] A. D. 1357. September.

As the truce with France would soon expire, preparations were made towards the end of 1358 for renewing the war. On the 8th of December stringent orders were sent to Sir Guy Bryan, admiral of the western, and to Sir Robert Morley, admiral of the northern fleet, as well as to many other persons, to impress every ship under seventy-six tons, and to take security from their owners and masters that they would be at Sandwich by Palm Sunday for the King's passage, at which place all barges were likewise to assemble.[b] A. D. 1358. December.

On the 5th of June Sir Guy Bryan and Sir Robert Morley, the admirals of the two fleets, and other officers, were commanded to arrest shipping for the King's passage to France, which were to be at Sandwich by the 9th of July.[c] Vessels were also obtained from Sluys, Dunkirk, and Gravelines for the same purpose,[d] and sailors were impressed to man the "Edward," seventeen other ships, and the King's barges.[e] Edward arrived at Sandwich about the 1st of September, and appears to have remained there until the 28th of October, on which day, before sun-rise, he embarked in a ship called the "Philip" of Dartmouth, and landed at Calais about four o'clock in the afternoon.[f] He was accompanied by one of the largest armies that ever left England; for there was not a knight, nor esquire, nor man of honour who was in health, between the ages of twenty and sixty, that did A. D. 1359. June. September. October.

[a] Knyghton, 2617.
[b] Fœdera, III. 412.
[c] Ibid. pp. 427, 428.
[d] Ibid. p. 445. Four of these Flemish ships were commanded by Copinus Wolf. Rot. Scot. I. 840.
[e] Fœdera, III. 428.
[f] Ibid. p. 452.

A. D. 1359. not serve in that expedition, except such as were left to protect England. Edward told his soldiers plainly that he would never return until he had finished the war by an honourable and effectual peace, or had died in the attempt; and he requested that if any among them disapproved of his intention, they would return to their own homes.[a]

Before the King left England, the dangers with which the trade of the country was threatened by "pirates" and other enemies at sea, appeared to justify the council, with the consent of the native and foreign merchants who were summoned before it, but without the assent of Parliament, to impose a tax of sixpence in the pound on all merchandise imported or exported until the following Michaelmas, to maintain a fleet at sea.[b]

A. D. 1360. While Edward was making a triumphant progress in France, the enemy retaliated by ravaging the coast

March. of England. On the 2nd of March a general array of men capable of bearing arms was ordered to be made for the purpose of resisting the French, who were then at sea with a large force, and were expected to land at Southampton, Portsmouth, or Sandwich. But instead, as might have been expected from the wonted maritime spirit of the nation, and the recent glory of "Sluys" and "L'Espagnols sur Mer," of instantly sending a fleet to meet the enemy, directions were forwarded to all the ports that every vessel should be drawn up high on the shore at a considerable distance

[a] Froissart, I. 417, who erroneously states that Edward embarked at Dover. Barnes, following Fabian, says the French were commanded by the Count of St. Pol, and had landed at Rye and Hastings, and spoiled those towns, before they attacked Winchelsea.

[b] Fœdera, III. 459.

from the water.[a] This disgraceful measure shews how greatly the English Navy had been neglected, and how just were the complaints which were soon afterwards made by the people on the subject. Military ardour was at that time, however, centred in the conquest of France; and to that fatal object the naval superiority of England—her only real protection—was sacrificed. A. D. 1360. March.

On Sunday the 15th of March[b] the French appeared off Winchelsea, and landing a large body of horse and foot soldiers,[c] attacked the place while the people were at mass, slew many of the inhabitants, sparing neither age, nor sex, nor rank. They set fire to the town, ravaged the neighbourhood, and committed the most horrible atrocities. At length the troops and people in the vicinity assembled; and, advancing upon the enemy, drove them after a gallant fight to their ships, with a loss in killed and drowned of more than four hundred men.[d] Nine, if not more, beautiful women, however, were carried off, whose dreadful fate is feelingly deplored by their contemporaries. The sailors of the Cinque Ports, however,

[a] Fœdera, III. 471. Similar orders were sent to the lieutenants of the two admirals, Morley and Bryan, both of whom were probably in France.

[b] Ibid. p. 477; Walsingham; 166. Anon. Hist. Edw. tertii, apud Hearne, II. 424. Knyghton (2622) states erroneously that it occurred on the feast of St. Matthias, in Lent, *i. e.* the 25th of February. It is remarkable that intelligence of the attack on Winchelsea should have reached the council at Reading on the day on which it took place. Fœdera, III. 476.

[c] Knyghton says twenty-nine thousand; and Villani states that they had one hundred and twenty sail; but the numbers of both are probably over-rated. The Polychronicon merely says that the Normans landed at Winchelsea with "a lytell navye."

[d] The anonymous historian printed by Hearne says, these "pirates" were driven to their ships, and from England, by the abbot of Battle and his adherents. (II. 424.) A priest called John Thorp received twenty marks from the King, in recompense of the loss he had sustained at Winchelsea on that occasion. Issue Roll, 34 Edw. III., ed. Devon, p. 173.

A. D. 1360. March. took thirteen French ships, laden with wine and other provisions.[a]

These proceedings excited terror, if not dismay, throughout the realm. Roused to a sense of their duty, the King's council, on the 15th of March, the instant after news of the event had reached them, commanded a fleet to be prepared; and every large ship and barge in all the ports fit for war was ordered to be impressed. The ships were to be manned with forty sailors, forty armed men, and sixty archers, victualled and fitted for sea without delay, and sent to cruise to the westward of the Thames.[b] The shipping belonging to England in Flanders was sent for;[b] and everything was done to equip a powerful armament. On the 26th of March Sir John Paveley, prior of the hospital of St. John in England, was appointed captain and leader of this fleet.[c] Troops were levied in all the midland counties, and sent to London; the castles of Old Sarum and Malmesbury, as well as Southampton and other places, and especially the Queen's castle of Pevensey, were put in a state of defence; and it is difficult to convey an adequate idea of the terror of invasion which seems to have prevailed throughout the country.[d]

In this emergency, eighty ships, with fourteen thousand soldiers and archers, were sent from London to revenge the attack on Winchelsea; and they are

[a] Walsingham, 166; Knyghton, 2622, 2623. It is not quite certain that those ships were taken at that time, though they certainly formed part of the French fleet.

[b] Fœdera, III. 476.

[c] Ibid. p. 479.

[d] See the documents in the Fœdera, pp. 471—479, *passim*. As it was rumoured that the French intended to rescue their king, who was captured at Poitiers, he was removed from Somerton to Berkhampstead Castle. John was afterwards transferred to the Tower of London. Ibid. pp. 470—475.

said to have taken the Isle of Saints;[a] but another writer[b] states that this fleet, which consisted of one hundred and sixty ships, proceeded under its admiral towards Boulogne, and thence to Harfleur, and did great injury to France. A. D. 1360

The war was, however, terminated by the treaty of Bretigny, on the 8th of May, when it was agreed that King John should be ransomed, and that Edward should renounce his pretensions to the crown of France. On the 18th of May Edward landed from his barge at Rye;[c] and on the 17th of June the warden of the Cinque Ports was ordered to find vessels for the King of France's passage to Calais, where he arrived on the 8th of July.[d] A squadron of nine ships was directed to be manned on the 13th;[e] and on the 18th of July Sir John Beauchamp[f] was appointed "admiral of the King's southern, northern, and western fleets,"[g] which appears to be the first instance of the command of all the fleets being vested in one person. May. June. July.

The King went to Calais on the 9th of October; and the treaty of Bretigny having been ratified by him and King John in the most solemn manner in the church of St. Nicholas on the 24th of that month,[h] Edward returned to England early in November. It is said that in this year Nicholas of Lynn, a friar of Oxford,

[a] Walsingham, p. 167. Barnes, who cites Walsingham, gives the city of London the whole credit of having fitted out this expedition; but Walsingham's words are, "Per idem tempus Londonienses *cum cæteris regni incolis* congregate classa octoginta navium," &c. Knyghton, however, says "CLX. navibus de Londoniis per Temesiam."

[b] Knyghton, 2623.

[c] Fœdera, III. 490.

[d] Ibid. p. 499.

[e] Ibid. 504.

[f] He is erroneously called "Earl of Warwick" in the Fœdera, but he was a younger son of Guy, second Earl of Warwick. The addition "de Warwick" usually occurs to his name, to distinguish him from other knights of the same name.

[g] Fœdera, III. 505.

[h] Ibid. pp. 518, 520.

A. D. 1360. and a good astronomer, made a voyage in company with some other persons towards the North Pole.[a]

Many years elapsed without the occurrence of any Naval event of much interest, for little was done except to provide shipping for the passage of troops and stores to Gascony. Sir John Beauchamp having died in December 1360, Sir Robert Herle was appointed

A. D. 1361. to succeed him, on the 26th of January 1361, as admiral of the three fleets.[b]

A. D. 1362. On the 28th of April 1362, the King informed his admirals, sheriffs, mayors, and other officers and subjects, that it was one of the conditions of the truce which had been lately made with Scotland, that, if any Scottish or English ship were driven by stress of weather, or forced by any other cause into the ports of England or Scotland, she should be peacefully received, furnished with provisions, and allowed to depart; and they were ordered to act accordingly.[c] In June ships were ordered to be found for the passage of the Prince of Wales, who was created Duke of Aquitaine, to Gascony, which were to assemble at Plymouth by the 15th of August.[d] The Prince's voyage was, however, postponed until the following year; and the ships were afterwards ordered to be at that port by Easter-day in 1363.[e]

A. D. 1364. The Duke of Clarence being about to proceed to Ireland in July 1364, eighty ships, each of forty or more tons, were sent to Liverpool to convey him.[f]

[a] Hakluyt, I. 122, who adds that the Friar's "book is called 'Inventio Fortunæ,' beginning at the 54th degree, extends to the pole."

[b] Fœdera, III. 597.
[c] Rot. Scot. I. 862.
[d] Fœdera, III. 652, 665, 666, 667.
[e] Ibid. p. 685.
[f] Ibid. pp. 740, 746.

On the 7th of July Sir Ralph Spigurnell was made admiral of the southern, northern, and western fleets, and like his predecessors Beauchamp and Herle, he was also appointed keeper of Dover Castle, and warden of the Cinque Ports.[a] Though scarcely a Naval matter, it may not be uninteresting to notice that the right of the passage over the river Tamer, at Saltash, in Cornwall, and an annuity of 20*l.*, was granted by the Prince of Wales, and confirmed by the King, in August in this year, to the Prince's porter, William Lenche, in consideration of his having lost an eye at the battle of Poictiers.[b] A. D. 1364.

On the 24th of October 1366, shipping was directed to be provided for the passage of the Duke of Lancaster to Gascony;[c] and in May 1368, thirty-nine ships and thirteen small vessels were ordered to convey the Duke of Clarence, four hundred and fifty-seven men, and twelve hundred and eighty horses, from Dover to Calais.[d] A. D. 1366. A. D. 1368.

[a] Fœdera, III. 741.

[b] Ibid. p. 746.

[c] Ibid. p. 810. Barnes, (p. 717,) upon the authority of an old MS. in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, says that in the month of June 1367 there appeared in the northern sea a great navy of Danes, who intended to overrun England, as their ancestors had done in the time of the Saxons. But they were met at sea by a good fleet of English mariners and other valiant men, who overcame and drove them back to their own country. In this fleet," he says, "was a mighty and strong ship, called the 'Denmark,' which, being oversailed by the Englishmen, was taken and sunk, and in her was found the high steward and other great officers and lords of Denmark," who were taken to England and imprisoned. He adds, that shortly after came certain Danish deputies to negotiate for the release of the prisoners, but not receiving a satisfactory answer, on their departure "they left behind them in their inns, written on scrolls and walls, this threatening verse:—

'Yet shall Danes
Bring you wanes;'

which rhymes being seen by an English poet, he immediately wrote underneath them,

'Here shall Danes
Fett their banes.'"

This statement, which is not corroborated by any other writer, nor by the public records, is much too doubtful to be admitted into the text.

[d] Fœdera, III. 847.

A. D. 1369. A general arrest of vessels of twenty tons and upwards, except fishing-boats, was made on the 24th of February 1369, part of which were to be sent to Southampton and part to Dartmouth, as soon as possible;[a] and on the 20th of March all fencible men between the ages of sixteen and sixty, men-at-arms, hoblers, and archers, were commanded to be arrayed for the defence of the realm.[b] On the 28th of April Sir Robert Ashton was appointed admiral of the fleet westward of the Thames;[c] and sailors were impressed for the King's ships, the "Dieu la Garde," the "Edward," and five others, and for the barge "George," in May,[d] which were armed and sent to sea for the defence of the kingdom, and of the King's castles and towns abroad, under Walter Howet.[e] These preparations for war were followed, on the 3rd of June, by a declaration from the King in Parliament, that Charles of France, who had succeeded his father King John, in April 1364, had broken the treaty of Bretigny, by invading his territories in Poitou, and by sending numerous armed ships and galleys to sea, intending to invade England.[f] It was, therefore, determined, with the assent of Parliament, that Edward should resume the title of "King of England and France."[g] Hostilities immediately commenced, and measures were taken for sending a large army to France under the Duke of Lancaster.[h]

The King of France appears to have contemplated

[a] Fœdera, III. 861.
[b] Ibid. p. 863.
[c] Rot. Patent. 43 Edw. III. p. 1, m. 15.
[d] Fœdera, III. 865.
[e] Ibid. p. 866.
[f] Froissart (I. 567) says Charles's naval preparations caused great astonishment in England: "et vous dis que les Anglois furent adonc bien ébahis."
[g] Rot. Parl. II. 299.
[h] Fœdera, III. 868.

active naval operations, as he had entered into a treaty of alliance with Henry, King of Castile and Leon, commonly called "the Bastard of Spain," by which it was agreed, that whatever number of galleys the French might send to sea, Henry should send the same number of galleys, or double that number of ships,[a] and that they should remain at sea for the same period of time.[b] In this confederacy against England Henry revenged himself for his defeat, by the Black Prince, at the battle of Najara, in 1367. Ships, barges, and vessels were collected from all the ports in the Seine between Rouen and Harfleur; and Charles entrusted the command of the expedition to his brother Philip, Duke of Burgundy, but he went himself to Rouen to superintend the preparations, and took so much interest in the equipment of the ships, that he visited them three or four times a week. The Lord of Clisson, one of his principal councillors, did every thing he could to dissuade him and his council from making war upon this country, alleging, among other reasons, that the English were about to invade France, and that he was well acquainted with the character and condition of England;[c] but nothing could shake the resolution of the King and the remainder of the council to send the armament to sea. A.D. 1369.

On the 12th of June Sir Nicholas Tamworth was appointed admiral of the northern fleet, with directions to collect such large ships and other vessels of June.

[a] "nos tantas galeas aut naves in duplo teneamur armare."

[b] Fœdera, III. 869. One of the French ambassadors on that occasion was Francis de Piriliolibus, Viscount of Rhodes, and admiral of France.

[c] Froissart, I. 584. Johnes says that Clisson "told them that they were not so much accustomed to naval engagements as the English;" but there is no such passage in Monsieur Buchon's text.

A. D. 1369. war[a] as might be required, and to impress crews for them.[b] Information having been received that the enemy intended to land in the Isle of Wight, or near Southampton, troops were ordered to be sent to August. those places on the 15th of August;[c] but, from a supineness which is unaccountable, it was not until after the French had landed at Portsmouth and burnt the town[d] that vigorous efforts were made to fit out a fleet. On October. the 26th of October all the ports were commanded to select two persons well informed respecting shipping, merchants, and merchandize, who were to appear before the King in council, at Westminster, on the 18th of the ensuing month, to advise on the best measures to be adopted, in consequence of the French having collected numerous ships and men for the destruction of the English shipping and trade.[e] In November Sir Robert Ashton was sent with some ships to Calais, to bring home the Duke of Lancaster and other personages.[f]

A. D. 1370. A squadron was then at sea under the command of

[a] "naves et naviculas guerrinas."

[b] Fœdera, III. 871.

[c] Ibid. p. 878.

[d] Ibid. p. 880. This fact appears from a letter to the Abbot of Tichfield and others, on the 29th of September 1369, stating that the inhabitants of Portsmouth had represented to the King, that their town had been burnt by the French, and that they could not pay the ancient farm-rent; he therefore commanded them to ascertain, by the oaths of the inhabitants, what tenements were burnt by the enemy, and their previous value. (Fœdera, III. 880, 918.) Though the time is not stated when the occurrence took place, it was evidently not very long before the date of that document, but no Chronicler mentions the circumstance. In November 1372, the inhabitants were exempted from taxation on account of their poverty, from the frequent burnings of their town by the enemy. Ibid. p. 965.

[e] Ibid. pp. 880, 881.

[f] Issue Roll, 44 Edw. III. p. 376. Various accounts of stores, armour, rigging, &c. for ships, between 1350 and 1370, occur on the Rolls, "W. N. 159, 290, 857, 894;" "E. B. 468, 418, 883;" "I. P. N. 8298;" "T. G. 306, 583, 3456, 23,210;" "H. C. H. 623, 1115;" and "F. L. H. 532."

Sir Guy Bryan;[a] and on the 17th of January 1370, A. D. 1370. every vessel above sixty tons was ordered to be sent to Winchelsea with all possible despatch.[b] These ships were afterwards directed to rendezvous at Orwell by the 1st of May, and to have a double shipment of sailors to convey the King to France.[c] In February payments were made to the two admirals, February. Ashton and Tamworth, for men-at-arms and archers, some of whom were to serve in six barges at sea.[d] Early in May shipping and mariners were again May. levied and sent to Dartmouth; and commands were issued for every vessel in the Welch ports of from twelve to forty tons to proceed to Southampton, but ships above forty tons were to go to Plymouth for the passage of the Duke of Lancaster and his troops to Gascony.[e] Several vessels were also hired to convey an embassy to the King of Navarre in Normandy, and to bring some of his knights to England.[f] On the 30th of May Sir Guy Bryan was made admiral of the western, and John Lord Neville of Raby, admiral of the northern fleet.[g] A large squadron,[h] partly formed of Dutch and Flemish ships and of vessels belonging to Guernsey and Jersey,[i] was also equipped for the passage of Sir Robert Knollys, the King's lieutenant, to France, of which Sir Ralph Ferrers was appointed

[a] Fœdera, III. 885. At this time, Sir Robert Ashton and Sir Nicholas Tamworth were admirals of the northern and western fleets. Sir Guy Bryan must, therefore, have had a separate command.

[b] Ibid. p. 885.

[c] Ibid. p. 889; Rot. Franc. p. 101.

[d] Issue Roll, 44 Edw. III. p. 451.

[e] Fœdera, III. 891.

[f] Issue Roll, 44 Edw. III. p. 183.

[g] Fœdera, III. 892.

[h] Froissart (I. 577) says, Sir Robert Knollys came to Brittany with four large ships, and that he landed at "Kaouke," probably Concarneau; but the Issue Roll of this year (pp. 260—272) shews that a large fleet was collected for his passage.

[i] Issue Roll, 44 Edw. III. pp. 149, 267, 286.

A. D. 1370. admiral on the 8th of July.[a] Early in that month Sir
July. Robert Ashton was sent with some of the King's ships to Cherburgh, to convey the King of Navarre to England; on which occasion he received the large sum of 366*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* for his expences;[b] and in September he carried that prince back to Normandy.[c] Some time in this year ships were sent to the north to resist French and Danish enemies, and to intercept the messenger of the King of France on his return from Scotland.[d]

On the 29th of July information reached the King at Clarendon, that thirty French vessels, fifteen of which were galleys, had captured a large ship of Bayonne laden with goods belonging to merchants of London, and that they had landed at Gosport, and burnt the town. Orders were immediately issued for troops to repair to Dover to repel an invasion, whence it appears that the enemy were then near to that port;[e] and during the months of September, October, and November, all persons capable of bearing arms were arrayed for the defence of the maritime counties.[f]

A. D. 1371. On the 26th of January 1371 a fleet was ordered to assemble at Lynn, and measures were taken for the defence of the Isle of Wight.[g] Parliament met
February. on the 17th of February, and the chancellor stated that the King had received information from his friends and allies, that his adversary of France, who was stronger than he had ever before been, had raised

[a] Fœdera, III. 896, 897. Sir Ralph de Poly is described as vice-admiral of the northern fleet. Issue Roll, pp. 268, 269.

[b] Issue Roll, pp. 187, 277.

[c] Ibid. p. 253.

[d] Ibid. p. 396.

[e] Privy Seal, 29th July, 44 Edw. III., marked "T. G. 22,069," at Carlton Ride.

[f] Fœdera, III. 900, 901, 902.

[g] Ibid. p. 909.

sufficient soldiers to oust him from all his possessions beyond the sea, and had so many galleys, flutes, lynes, and other ships with castles,[a] ready for sea, as seemed enough to destroy the whole navy of England, with which he intended to invade this country. The lords and commons were, therefore, requested to consider these matters, and to advise the King how his realm might be preserved, and his navy maintained against the malice of his said enemies for the safety of his foreign possessions and the support of the war.[b] A. D. 131[illegible] February

At this time the English navy, which only a few years before had swept the narrow seas, and defeated both the French and the Spaniards, was in so deplorable a condition, that the commons made the circumstance part of their complaints to the King. They represented that the cities, ports, and boroughs, and the whole navy of the realm, had for a long time suffered great damage unknown to the King and his council, to the annihilation of the said places and navy, and danger of the realm in case of need; that they had formerly enjoyed certain franchises and usages, by which they were enabled to maintain their houses, their navy, and themselves, and support the good estate and great honour and safety of their lord and all his people, to the great fear of all foreign countries, by the power of the merchants and navy of the realm; but that now, since their franchises had been seized, one third part of the towns, boroughs, and ports was almost ruined and uninhabited, the walls broken down, and the shipping nearly ruined, so that the merchants

[a] "Et ovesqe ce ad prest tantz de galeys, fluves, lynes, et autres niefs de tour, qe lui semble doient suffire à destrure toute la navie d'Engleterre."

[b] Rot. Parl. II. 303.

A. D. 1371. February. were reduced to poverty and could scarcely live. They therefore prayed that their ancient privileges and franchises might be restored, so that, when occasion required, they could do good service to the King, and discomfit his enemies.

The commons then stated, that the principal causes of the navy being so nearly destroyed, were; First, that arrests of shipping were often made long before vessels were wanted, during which interval the owners were at the expense of keeping the ships and crews without making any profit, by which many of them became so impoverished as to be obliged to quit their business, and their ships were ruined. Secondly, that the merchants who supported the navy had been so impeded in their voyages and affairs by divers ordinances, that they had no employment for ships; that great part of the mariners had consequently abandoned their profession, and gained their livelihood in some other way; and that their ships were hauled up on the shore to rot. Thirdly, that, as soon as the masters of the King's ships were ordered on any voyage, they impressed the masters and ablest part of the men of other ships; and those vessels being left without persons to manage them,[a] many of them perished, and their owners were ruined. The King promised that these evils should be remedied; and the commons were desired to specify the grievances arising from the loss of their franchises, and were assured of a proper answer.[b]

March. In March every vessel of one hundred tons and upwards, all vessels and boats called "pikards" of ten

[a] "Par quoi les niefs d'autry ont demorez sanz governail."

[b] Rot. Parl. II. 306, 307.

or more tons in the Severn and Wales, Gloucester, A. D. 1371.
Devon, and Somerset, except Bristol, were arrested and sent to Plymouth, and placed under the admiral Sir Guy Bryan.[a] In May the admirals Neville and May.
Bryan were ordered to restore some Flemish ships that had been improperly captured; and it appears, from the documents issued on the occasion, that neutral ships carrying property of the belligerent states of France and Spain were liable to seizure:[b] hence free bottoms did not then make free goods.

On the 6th of October Sir Ralph Ferrers succeeded October.
Lord Neville in command of the northern fleet; and Sir Robert Ashton was made admiral of the western fleet instead of Sir Guy Bryan.[c] The French having menaced the coasts of Suffolk and Norfolk, the Earl of Suffolk, Lord Bardolf, and Sir William Morley were directed, on the 25th of October, to take the necessary measures for their defence; and Henry Rose was appointed captain of Great Yarmouth for the same purpose.[d]

An action, more memorable from being the last of Edward the Third's naval victories than from its own importance, or for any result that attended it, was fought in this year; but the precise time cannot be ascertained. Though briefly mentioned by other Chroniclers, Froissart only gives details, and the following are nearly his own words:—

At this time the King sent the Earl of Hereford and the knights of his household to Brittany, to consult with the duke on certain ordinances. The English and Flemings, who were then at enmity with

[a] Fœdera, III. 912.
[b] Ibid. p. 917.
[c] Ibid. pp. 923, 924.
[d] Ibid. p. 925.

A. D. 1371. each other, fought whenever they met at sea, and the latter had sustained such losses that they were much irritated. Then happened an adventure[a] between the English and the Flemings off a haven in Brittany, called "the Bay."[b] The Flemings were commanded by Sir John Peterson, and the English by Sir Guy Bryan. As soon as they discovered each other they prepared their ships for action, and a severe conflict took place. The King's two knights, Sir Richard Sturry and Sir Thomas de Wisk,[c] and others were there with the Earl of Hereford, who with their men fought the Flemings most valiantly, although the French were more numerous and better prepared,[d] for they had long had no other wish than to meet the English. The battle lasted three hours, and many brave deeds of arms were performed, and

[a] "Si se trouvèrent d'aventure," which Johnes translates, "by accident a fleet of each nation met," &c.

[b] "Un havèle en Bretagne, que on dit à la Bay." This place was then of so much importance, that it is desirable to ascertain its position. Monsieur Buchon says he knows not what "bay" was meant; and Johnes conjectures it was the island of Bas. "La Bay" appears to have been the bay now called "Bourneuf Bay," to the southward of the Loire, near the Isle of Noirmoutier, and on the confines of Poitou. In 1349 the King granted to Walter de Bentley and Joan his wife, Lady of Clisson, among other lands, "la Baye" and the Isle of Noirmoutier, &c., with "all the salt there." (Rot. Franc. p. 46.) In 1362 the King granted to Walter Huet, captain of Colet Castle, in Brittany, the revenues of several parishes, among which were Pont St. Martin, St. Pierre de Bogeneys, Chastel Thebaud, and others, a few miles to the southward of Nantes; and it is said that the "Port de la Bay," to which ships came for salt, was within the jurisdiction of Colet Castle. (Fœdera, III. 642.) The site of Colet Castle itself has not, however, been discovered. The King's salt-works in Poitou having been entered upon, an order was issued in 1349 that no one should purchase salt at "the Bay" or elsewhere in Poitou, except from the captain of that province. (Ibid. p. 190.) "Bay salt," no doubt, derived its name from "La Baye," and not, as is said by Butler, from Bayonne. The word again occurs in a petition from the Commons in a subsequent page.

[c] Sic. Barnes says, that Thomas of Woodstock, the King's youngest son, was in the fleet; but Froissart would not have failed to mention so important a personage, and he could hardly have converted "Woodstock" into "Wisk."

[d] "combien que les *François* [sic] fussent plus grand foison et pourvus de leur fait."

several men were wounded. As the ships were fastened to each other by iron chains and hooks, none could fly; and at length the Flemings were defeated and the English gained the day.[a] Sir John Peterson was captured, and all were taken or killed, so that not one escaped. The English ships returned with their prizes and prisoners to England, and did not then proceed on their voyage. When the King heard that the Flemings, who were the aggressors, were defeated, he was much pleased; and Peterson and the other Flemings were committed to prison in different parts of England. Edward then sent a large force to sea against the Flemings, and blockaded their ports; but the citizens of Bruges, Ypres, and Ghent treated for peace with England, which was soon effected.[b] A. D. 1371

To this account little can be added from other sources. The English Chroniclers[c] merely state that twenty-five ships laden with salt were captured, but they place the event in the year 1372. This, however, is scarcely possible; and there is great doubt of the accuracy of many of Froissart's statements. No trace can be found in the public records of any mission to Brittany before November 1371; and the Earl of Hereford was not one of the envoys on that occasion,[d] nor was Sir Guy Bryan admiral of the fleet after the 6th of October. Many efforts were made between May 1371 and March 1372 (at both of which

[a] "et finablement la place demeura aux Anglois."

[b] Froissart, I. 631, 632.

[c] Otterbourne, p. 128; Adam of Murimuth, p. 127; Walsingham, p. 182. Meyer (Comment. sive Annales Rerum Flandricarum, p. 165) repeats Froissart's statement, merely adding that the Flemish vessels were returning with wine from Rochelle, and had gone to La Baya for salt. It is much to be regretted that Knyghton's History from 1367 to 1377 should have been lost.

[d] Fœdera, III. 926.

A. D. 1371. dates peace was proclaimed with Flanders[a]) to put an end to the petty war which had long been carried on by the sailors of the two countries, and, as has been already stated, some Flemish ships were restored;[b] but it is evident that those vessels did not form part of Peterson's squadron. Nor is Froissart's statement, that Edward sent a fleet against the Flemings, after Sir Guy Bryan returned to England, borne out by any evidence. The last transaction relating to the Navy in this year was a prohibition to sell any ship or vessel to foreigners.[c]

A. D. 1372. In January 1372 a treaty was concluded with the Genoese, by which it was stipulated that the citizens and merchants, with their galleys, cogs, tarics, and ships and vessels, large and small, might freely enter and trade in the ports of England, provided they did not assist the French or Spaniards, or any other of the King's enemies, with their galleys or other vessels, nor convey the enemy's property.[d] On the 7th of February. February orders were sent to the sea-ports to arrest all vessels of twenty or more tons, which were to be March. ready for service by the 1st of May;[e] and in March Sir Philip Courtenay was appointed admiral of the western, and Sir William Neville of the northern fleet, with power to appoint deputies.[f] Peace was proclaimed with Flanders on the 28th of March.[g] On April. the 4th of April sailors were ordered to be impressed to man ships for the King's passage to France;[h] and,

[a] Fœdera, III. 914, 938.
[b] Vide p. 137, *ante*.
[c] Fœdera, III. 930.
[d] Ibid. p. 931.
[e] Ibid. p. 933.
[f] Ibid. p. 937. Sir Philip Courtenay's lieutenants, or deputies, were Walter de Haule, the King's serjeant-at-arms, and Thomas Fishacre.
[g] Ibid. p. 938.
[h] Ibid.

a few days afterwards, the Cinque Ports were commanded to fit out six ships and barges for war, which they were immediately to send to sea for one month.[a] A. D. 1372

The French had then so large a fleet as to revive the fears of invasion; and Sir John Clinton was directed to reside in Kent, to assist the other nobles and inhabitants in defending the country;[b] and in June, the danger having become imminent, troops were levied, and other measures adopted for resisting the enemy in case they landed in any part of England.[c] June.

The sun of England's naval glory was now for a long time obscured; and the triumphs of the early part of Edward's career form a humiliating contrast to the disasters which began towards its close, and continued during the whole reign of his successor. About the end of April the young Earl of Pembroke was made lieutenant of Aquitaine;[d] and it was determined that he should proceed to the relief of Rochelle, which was besieged by the French, accompanied by Sir Guichard d'Angle, who had recently received the Order of the Garter, and by other knights of Poitou who were then in England. After waiting fifteen days at Southampton for a fair wind, they embarked about the 10th of June; and the King of France, being informed of these preparations, sent the fleet of his ally the King of Castile, consisting of forty large ships and thirteen barges, to intercept them. Those ships, which were well equipped and castellated,[e] "as the Spanish vessels are," were under the command of

[a] Fœdera, III. 940.
[b] Ibid. p. 942.
[c] Ibid. pp. 944, 945, 946, 947, 952, 957.
[d] Ibid. p. 941.
[e] Or embattled: "bien pourvues et breteschées." Froissart, I. 636.

A. D. 1372. June. Ambrosio Bocanegra, admiral of Castile, Cabeza de Vaca, Don Fernando de Peon, and Rui Diaz de Rojas, and had anchored off Rochelle awaiting the appearance of the English squadron, whose force is not stated, though it is repeatedly said to have been very inferior to the Spaniards.

Pembroke arrived off Rochelle on the 22nd of June, and found the Spaniards lying at the mouth of the harbour. When the English and Poitevins saw that an engagement was inevitable, they encouraged each other, though they were not nearly equal, either in men or large ships, to the enemy,[a] and prepared for battle, placing their archers in the bows. Besides great numbers of men-at-arms and brigands,[b] who had cross-bows and cannon,[c] the Spaniards had great bars of iron and leaden bolts. Having weighed and gained the wind, their large ships bore down on the English with loud shouts and great noise, which were responded to by similar cries; and Pembroke conferred the honour of knighthood upon some of his esquires "for honour." The fight was very severe, and the English were greatly pressed, or, as Froissart quaintly expresses it, had enough to do;[d] for, as in the action off Winchelsea, the Spaniards derived great advantage from the height

[a] "combien qu'ils ne fussent mie bien partis tant de gens comme de grands vaisseaux." Froissart, I. 637.

[b] Foot-soldiers.

[c] "qui avoient arbalêtres et canons." Ibid. p. 637. Though it is very probable that the Spanish ships had guns, it is singular that Froissart, who dwells on the havoc made by other weapons, should not speak of the effect of the cannon. According to the Mémoires de Du Guesclin (as quoted by Johnes), fire-ships were used for the first time in this engagement by the Spaniards, which destroyed thirteen of the English ships: but, though some writers say that the Spaniards set their prizes on fire, they do not state in what manner. Fire-ships were, however, used by the Flemings sixty-eight years before. Vide vol. I. p. 376.

[d] "et eurent les Anglois bien à quoi entendre." Froissart, I. 637.

of their ships, as it enabled them to fling their missiles, with which they expected to sink their enemies, upon them with terrible effect. Pembroke, D'Angle, and the other knights, both English and Poitevin, gave many proofs of chivalry and prowess, and never did men act more valiantly. Inferior in numbers, and with much smaller ships, it was extraordinary that they could maintain so unequal a contest for so long a time. They fought, however, until night, with the loss of only two barges laden with provisions; and the two fleets then separated and came to an anchor. A. D. 137[illegible] June.

As the action was close to Rochelle, Sir John Harpeden, the commander of the town, endeavoured to persuade the inhabitants to go in vessels and barges to the relief of their countrymen, whose valour and danger they had witnessed; but they said they had their own town to guard, that they were not sailors, and did not know how to fight at sea or with the Spaniards; but that, had the action been on land, they would willingly have assisted. Three[a] knights, however, called the Sire de Tonnai-bouton, Sir James de Surgières, and Sir Maubrun de Linières, embarked in four barges at daybreak on the 23rd, and joined their friends. On being told that no aid was to be expected from the town, Pembroke and his companions observed that they trusted in God's mercy, and would abide the event, but that a time would come when the Rochellers should repent their conduct.

As soon as day dawned, and it was high water, the Spaniards disanchored, and sounding their trumpets, prepared for battle, and taking advantage of the wind

[a] Froissart afterwards calls the three knights he names, "these *four* knights."

A. D. 1372. June. to surround the English ships,[a] bore down on them with all sail set. As soon as the ships came in contact, the Spaniards fastened themselves to their adversaries with iron chains, and a fierce and cruel fight ensued. Pembroke's ship was attacked by four large Spaniards full of soldiers, under the command of Cabeza de Vaca and Don Fernando de Peon. The English, as on the preceding day, suffered heavily from the stones and iron bars which were thrown from the overtopping decks of the Spaniards, and Sir Aimery de Tarste, a gallant Gascon knight, and Sir John Lanton, a knight of the earl's body, were killed. After an obstinate resistance the Spaniards boarded and carried Pembroke's ship, and made him and his companions prisoners. Sir Simon Housagre, Sir John Mortainge, and Sir John Touchet were slain; and Sir Robert Tinfort, Sir John de Gruières, and Sir John Tourson shared the captivity of their noble chief.[b]

The battle nevertheless raged with great fury until nine o'clock,[c] and never did people at sea toil harder than did the English and Poitevins on that occasion. Sir Guischard d'Angle and Sir Otho Grandison gallantly defended their ships against those of Bocanegra and De Rojas, but at length the English were completely beaten, and all the ships fell into the enemy's hands. The lives of the knights were spared for the sake of a ransom; but, had they not generously pro-

[a] "et prirent l'avantage du vent pour enclorre les nefs des Anglois, qui n'etoient point grand foison au regard d'eux." P. 638.

[b] These names are thus differently, and perhaps more accurately, printed by Lord Berners and Mr. Johnes. Killed, Sir Simon Whitaker, Sir John Mortaine, and Sir John Touchet; taken, Sir Robert Beaufort, Sir John Curson, and Sir John Grimstone.

[c] "En cel estrif et en celle riote, combattant et défendant, lancant, et traiant l'un sur l'autre, furents-ils jusque à heure de tierce," (*i. e.* from about 9 A. M. to noon.)

mised to redeem their followers, they would have been put to death. One ship, which had on board considerable treasure to pay the troops in Guienne, was sunk, so that the money was of no use to any one.[a] Sir James de Surgières, the Poitevin knight before mentioned, possessed so much eloquence, that he induced his captor to release him on paying down three hundred francs; and being landed at Rochelle he gave a full account of the affair. A. D. 1372. June.

The Spaniards continued at anchor off Rochelle, revelling with joy, until the 24th, in the afternoon of which day at high water they disanchored and sailed for Galicia, with a great noise of trumpets, having such long streamers like pennons from their masts, charged with the arms of Castile, that the ends touched the water.[b] They were kept at sea more than a month by foul winds, and then reached St. Andero in Biscay, where they placed their prisoners in a strong castle, fastening them with iron chains according to their usual custom. "Other courtesy," says Froissart, "was unknown to the Spaniards; they resembled the Germans."[c] The Earl of Pembroke was afterwards sent to Burgos, where he was most honourably received by the Infant Don John and a large company of knights.[c]

Few additions can be made to this statement from other Chroniclers. The anonymous historian[d]

[a] Walsingham, (p. 182,) on the contrary, states, that the money, amounting to twenty thousand marks, fell into the hands of the Spaniards.

[b] Froissart, I. 635, 639.

[c] Ibid. p. 641.

[d] Apud Hearne, II. 439. "Subita irruit in eos classis Hispanica, quos ad pugnam tunc inordinatos, in multo discrimine personarum vicerunt Hispani." Walsingham, (p. 182,) who has in this, as in many other instances, repeated this writer's statements, says, "repente ruit super eos classis Hispanica incautos tunc et inordinatos ad pugnam."

A. D. 1372. June. of the period says, however, that, when the Spaniards commenced the attack, the English ships were surprised and not ready for action, and that the enemy burnt all their prizes. Though the superior force of the Spaniards formed an adequate and satisfactory cause for Pembroke's defeat, the monkish writers, whose anger he had provoked, attributed his misfortune to various circumstances. He had, they say, injured a church dedicated to St. Etheldreda the Virgin; and the fight having occurred on the day of her festival, the 23rd of June, she resented the affront by withholding her protection from him; but others, they observe, considered it as a punishment for his conjugal infidelity, for his having in Parliament proposed the abolition of certain rights and liberties of the Church, and for his having persuaded the King to impose a heavier tax upon ecclesiastics than upon laymen.[a]

The defeat of the Earl of Pembroke was attended by more important consequences than the capture of many ships and troops, for historians ascribe to it the loss of Guienne; and it was long before England could again cope with her enemies at sea.

About the time of the engagement off Rochelle, a person calling himself Evan, the son of a prince of Wales whom Edward had put to death, but who was probably an impostor, having entered the service of the King of France, was sent by him to sea with the command of three thousand soldiers. Evan sailed from Harfleur, and, attacking the island of Guernsey, landed and defeated its governor Edmund Rose, and then besieged him in Cornet Castle; but, before he

[a] Anon. Hist. apud Hearne, II. 439.

could reduce that fortress, Charles sent orders for him A. D. 1372.
to proceed instantly to Spain, to request the King of Castile to furnish him with barges and galleys under his own admiral to blockade Rochelle. Evan accordingly raised the siege of Castle Cornet, sent his troops back to Harfleur, and going on board a large ship, reached St. Andero on the same day that the Spaniards arrived there with the Earl of Pembroke and their other prisoners.[a]

On receiving news of the Earl of Pembroke's defeat and captivity, Edward ordered a large fleet to be equipped, intending to proceed in person to the relief of the city of Thouars,[b] which had agreed to surrender if it were not reinforced by the 29th of September. On the 20th of August ships and sailors were ordered August.
to be impressed and sent to Southampton, to convey John Lord Neville to Brittany.[c] The King embarked at Sandwich in the "Grace de Dieu," about the 30th of August, on which day he delivered the seal which was to be used in his absence abroad to the chancellor, in the "hall" or chief cabin of that ship.[d] He soon after sailed,[e] accompanied by the Prince, the greater part of his nobility, and an immense army, and coasted along Normandy and Brittany; but contrary winds prevented his making much progress, and after being five weeks[f] at sea, and Michaelmas (at September.
which time Thouars had agreed to surrender) being passed, the King sorrowfully returned to England. He appears to have landed at Winchelsea about the 6th of

[a] Froissart, I. 640, 641.
[b] Anon. Hist. II. 439.
[c] Fœdera, III. 961.
[d] Ibid. p. 962.
[e] The King was still at Sandwich on the 31st of August. Fœdera, III. 962.
[f] Froissart erroneously says "nine weeks."

A. D. 1372. October,[a] and, as soon as he arrived, the wind changed;
October. but he abandoned the expedition, on which he is stated to have expended the enormous sum of 900,000*l.*[b] A fleet of two hundred sail of merchantmen, however, proceeded to Gascony for wine.[c]

Evan of Wales and the Spanish fleet, which consisted of forty large ships, eight galleys, and thirteen barges, under Admiral Don Roderigo de Rosas, arrived off Rochelle. Anchoring before that port, the Spaniards effectually blockaded the place; and they then entered into a secret understanding with the inhabitants not to injure each other. Rochelle soon after submitted to the French.[d]

November. Parliament met on the 3rd of November, and the state of the Navy received immediate attention. After the Commons had granted another subsidy for its support, they represented that "twenty years since, and always before that time, the navy of the realm was so noble and so plentiful in all ports, maritime towns, and rivers, that the whole country deemed and called our Lord 'KING OF THE SEA,' and he and all his country were the more dreaded both by sea and land on account of the said navy. And now it was so decreased and weakened from divers causes, that there was hardly sufficient to defend the country in case of need against royal power, whence there was great danger to the realm,[e] the causes of which were

[a] On that day he issued writs, tested at Winchelsea, summoning Parliament to meet on the 3rd of November.

[b] Anon. Historia, II. 399, 400; Walsingham, p. 182; Froissart, I. 658.

[c] Froissart, I. 658.

[d] Ibid. pp. 647, 654.

[e] "Item, prie la Commune, qe come les marchantz et mariners d'Engleterre, que xx. aunz passez et toutdiz a devant, la navie de dit roialme estoit en toutz ports et bones villes sur mier et sur ryvers si noble et si pleintinouse qe touz les pays tenoient et appelloient nostre avandit seigneur, le Roi de la Mier,

too long to write; but the principal reason was, that, A. D. 1372. in time of war, ships were often arrested a quarter of November. a year or more before they left the ports, without payment of the wages of the mariners during the whole of that time, or any remuneration being made to the owners of the ships for their equipment and expenses; of which they prayed a suitable remedy, as an act of charity. The King replied, that it was his pleasure that the navy should be maintained and kept with the greatest ease and advantage that could be."[a]

The English navy had been reinforced by several Genoese war galleys; and on the 22nd of October the King appointed Peter de Campo Fregoso, brother of the Duke of Genoa, captain, and Sir Jacob Pronan, lieutenant and sub-captain of those vessels.[b] About this time the French and Spaniards had a formidable fleet of large ships, galleys, and barges, full of troops, at sea, commanded by Evan of Wales, Don Roderigo de Rosas, first admiral of Spain, the Count of Narbonne, Sir John de Raix, and Sir John de Vienne, which meditated a descent on the shores of England. Every effort was used to equip a fleet to resist the enemy;[c] and on the 16th of February 1373, A. D. 1373. the Earl of Salisbury was appointed captain of all the February. ships and barges that were about to put to sea. He agreed to serve with three hundred men-at-arms, consisting of himself, including twenty knights and two hundred and seventy-nine esquires, and the same

et lui et tout son pays dotoient le pluis par mier et par terre par cause de la dit navie. Et ore il est ensi desencrescez et anientyz par diverses causes, qe a poy qe yl i a demure sufficientis a defendre la dite pays, si grant mestier estoit, encontre roial poiar, y fuisse a grant perille comement de tout la roialme lesqeux causes serroit trop longe des touz escrivere." Rot Parl. II. 311.

[a] Ibid.

[b] Fœdera, III. 965, 970.

[c] Froissart, I. 668.

A. D. 1373. number of archers, for six months, having in his company the two admirals, and an armament of ships, barges, and other vessels, for the safeguard of the sea.[a]

March. The Earl of Salisbury was joined by the admirals of the western and northern fleets, Sir Philip Courtenay and Sir William Neville, and sailed from Cornwall for the coast of Brittany. Entering the port of St. Maloes, they found eight large Spanish merchant-ships, which they burnt, together with their cargoes, and put their crews to the sword. The English then landed and ravaged the surrounding country,[b] after which Salisbury proceeded with his squadron to Brest, to assist in its defence against the French, who had entered Brittany.[c] During the siege of Brest, the earl, who appears to have been reinforced from England, cruised off the coast with eighty ships, besides barges and other vessels;[d] and being informed by letters from Sir Robert Knollys, which were brought to his ship off Guerrande by a knight in a barge, that Brest was about to capitulate, he hastened to its relief with his ships. As soon as he had anchored he landed his troops and offered battle to the enemy; but at night the soldiers re-embarked, and the next morning landed again, which was repeated daily until the French raised the siege, when Salisbury sailed towards St. Matthew's.[e]

April. Shipping was ordered in April to be prepared, and sailors impressed for the passage of John of

[a] Fœdera, III. p. 971.

[b] Froissart, I. 668. It is said in Johnes' translation, that the English fleet consisted of "forty large ships, without including sloops;" but there is no such passage in Mons. Buchon's edition.

[c] Froissart, I. 670.

[d] "sans les barges et les hokecos." Ibid. p. 676.

[e] Froissart, I. 676.

Gaunt, King of Castile and Leon, to Gascony, of which province he was constituted captain-general; and prayers were offered in all the churches for his success in recovering the King's territories in France.[a] To prevent invasion, a general array of all fencible men in the maritime counties was directed to take place in July.[b] On the 20th of that month the Bishop of Winchester was commanded to array the clergy of his diocese, and to send them to Southampton and the adjacent places, in consequence of the French having ships, galleys, and barges at sea, with which they intended to land near the town; and other measures were adopted for the protection of the coast.[c] Parliament met on the 21st of November, and the Earl of Salisbury's proceedings on the coast of Brittany were highly eulogized in the chancellor's speech. After noticing the expedition of the King of Castile to France, and the exploits of the army, he observed that Edward had sent a powerful navy to sea, which, as was well known, had conducted itself ably and graciously against the enemy, to the great honour, praise, quiet, and tranquillity of the King, the clergy, and of all others in the realm.[d]

A. D. 1373.

July.

November.

Eight of the King's ships and other ships and barges being about to cruise on the western coast, sailors were ordered to be impressed to man them, on the 28th of January and 3rd of February 1374.[e] An effort appears to have been then made to increase the

A. D. 1374.

[a] Fœdera, III. 975, 976, 982, 983.

[b] Ibid. p. 976.

[c] Ibid. p. 988.

[d] Rot. Parl. II. 316.

[e] Fœdera, III. 996, 997. Sir William Neville, admiral of the northern fleet, appointed Hugh Fastolf of Great Yarmouth, and John Brice of Little Yarmouth, his lieutenants. Ibid.

A. D. 1374. navy, for many of the northern ports furnished "a new barge" each, which vessels were directed to be manned and sent to Sandwich by the 16th of March;[a] and other barges were to proceed to Plymouth by that day,[b] to serve in an expedition at sea.[c] On the May. 12th of May nineteen masters of ships were summoned from different ports to attend the King's council at Westminster, for the purpose of giving information on maritime affairs.[d]

Every vessel of forty tons and upwards in the northern, and those of twenty and more tons in the western and Welch ports, were directed, on the 17th July. of July, to rendezvous at Dartmouth and Plymouth by the 8th of September,[e] to convey the Earl of Cambridge and an army to Brittany.[f] So many Genoese merchant-ships trading with Flanders had been captured by the English, that the Duke of Genoa sent a mission to the King in August to demand satisfaction for those injuries.[g]

A. D. 1375. In February 1375, the Duke of Venice informed February. the King that he was about to send five merchant-galleys, as well as other ships and cogs to Flanders; and he requested that those vessels might not be molested by the English, and that Edward would grant them letters of protection.[h] On the 27th of June. June a truce for one year was concluded between England, France, and Spain, through the mediation of the Pope; but England never sustained a heavier maritime disaster than occurred a few weeks after

[a] Fœdera, III. 998.
[b] Ibid. p. 999.
[c] Ibid. p. 1001.
[d] Ibid. p. 1002.
[e] Ibid. p. 1006.
[f] Ibid. p. 1017.
[g] Ibid. p. 1008.
[h] Ibid. p. 1201.

that treaty was executed, though it does not seem to be noticed by any historian. A. D. 1375.

A fleet which had conveyed Sir Thomas Felton, seneschal of Gascony, to Bordeaux, and Sir William Elman, governor of Bayonne, to that city, relying on the article in the truce, that hostilities would cease on the 2nd of August in Spain, proceeded to "the Bay"[a] in Brittany, to take in cargoes for England. On the 10th of that month, when those ships were loaded, several Spanish galleys came in, attacked them, captured some, burnt others, and killed the masters and crews.[b] A list of the vessels taken and burnt on that occasion, together with the value of each, and the names of the owners, shew that the loss sustained on this occasion was extremely heavy. Thirty-nine sail, consisting of twenty-eight ships, five cogs, one crayer, and two barges, of from fifty to three hundred tons, belonging to Yarmouth, Bristol, Southampton, Ipswich, and other ports, were either taken or destroyed, the whole value of which, with their cargoes, amounted to 17,739*l.*,[c] equal to at least 120,000*l.* of the present money. August.

In April 1376, soon after Parliament assembled, the owners of those vessels represented the circumstance, and prayed the King to assist them, adding a request, that, in future, the wages of the masters and mariners might begin from the day on which they were impressed. Had this flagrant violation of the law of nations been committed in the days of "Sluys" and "Espagnols sur Mer," it would have been gloriously avenged; and the unfortunate merchants would have received a very A. D. 1376. April.

[a] Vide p. 138, *ante*.
[b] Rot. Parl. II. 346.
[c] State Paper, "No 963 x. E.," in the Tower.

A. D. 1375. different answer from the tame, if not pusillanimous assurance, that the King had done, and would continue to do, his best to procure redress.[a] Nor does it appear that any satisfaction was ever obtained.

It was not until the commencement of 1376 that any preparations were made to collect a fleet. On the 4th of January orders were issued to Sir Philip Courtenay, admiral towards the south and west, commanding him to send all ships of more than sixty tons, with every barge of his admiralty, to the port of Hamel, near Southampton; and all ships carrying from sixty to eighty tons were to be sent to Sandwich by the 1st of March, fully manned and equipped for war, "for important causes relating to the salvation and necessary defence of the realm." Sir William Neville, admiral towards the north, received similar commands.[b] The usual measures were taken in March and April for the protection of the
March. coast;[c] although on the 12th of March the truce with France and Spain was renewed until the 1st of April 1377,[d] and the shipping and mariners that had been impressed were released in June.[e] They were, how-
July. ever, again arrested in July, to bring the Duke of Brittany, the Earl of Cambridge, and the English troops from Brittany.[f]

England's great military commander, and one of the heroes of "Espagnol sur Mer," Edward the Black Prince, died on the 8th of June in this year. On the 16th of July the Earl of Suffolk was made admiral of the northern, and the Earl of Salisbury admiral of

[a] Rot. Parl. II. 346. The latter part of the petition was not noticed.
[b] Fœdera, III. 1046.
[c] Ibid. pp. 1049, 1050.
[d] Ibid. p. 1048.
[e] Rot. Franc. p. 115.
[f] Ibid.

the western fleet;[a] but they did not hold their offices many months, for on the 24th of November Sir Robert Hales, Prior of St. John's of Jerusalem in England, was appointed admiral of the western, and Sir Michael de la Pole of the northern fleet.[b] A. D. 1376. November.

The unsatisfactory state of affairs was declared to be the principal cause of summoning Parliament in January 1377; for though the truce with France and Spain had not expired, the Bishop of St. David's, the chancellor, informed the Lords and Commons in his speech, that Charles had made preparations for war, as well by land as by sea, with a great number of galleys, barges, and other large ships, and intended by all the means in his power, and with the assistance of the Spaniards and Scotch and other enemies, with whom he was allied, to destroy the King and his realm of England, and wholly to extirpate the English language.[c] On the 13th of February the two admirals were directed to arrest every ship, barge, and other vessel of twenty tons and upwards, to impress crews for them, and to send those vessels to the Thames within a month.[d] In March troops were ordered to be collected for the defence of the coast against a great number of ships, galleys, and barges, with which the French had threatened to invade the realm.[e] A. D. 1377. January. February. March.

After an eventful reign of upwards of fifty years, during which the Naval glory of England shone with the brightest lustre since the days of Alfred, King Edward the Third died on the 21st of June 1377. June.

[a] Fœdera, III. 1057.

[b] Ibid. p. 1065. Sir Robert Hales appointed Walter Haule and John Legg, serjeants-at-arms, his deputies. Ibid. p. 1066.

[c] Rot. Parl. II. 362.

[d] Fœdera, III. 1072, 1076, 1077.

[e] Ibid. pp. 1075, 1078.

CHAPTER III.

VARIOUS KINDS OF SHIPS, CREWS, MASTS, SAILS, RIGGING, AND OTHER STORES.—ARMOUR.—IMPRESSMENT.—WAGES.—PROVISIONS.—PUNISHMENT.—FREIGHTAGE.—OFFICERS.—COMPASS.—COLOURS.—GUNPOWDER AND CANNON.—GENERAL MANAGEMENT OF THE NAVY.—ADMIRALS.—STATUTES AND OTHER PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS.—INQUEST AT QUEENSBOROUGH.—CINQUE PORTS.—NOBLE.—MISCELLANEOUS.—MEMOIRS OF ADMIRALS.

SEVERAL kinds of vessels besides ships, cogs, and galleys are mentioned in the reign of King Edward the Third; it is to be regretted that no means exist for ascertaining precisely in what they differed from each other, though their use and sizes may be stated with tolerable accuracy; and accurate particulars can be given respecting their crews, rigging, stores, and armaments.

Variety of vessels.

The shipping of this period consisted of "ships," "cogs," "galleys," "barges," "crayers," "flutes" or "fluves," "balingers," "pinnaces," "shutes," "doggers," "hulks," "lynes," "keels," "segboats," "fishing-boats," "hoc-boats," "liques," "lighters," "pickards," "lodeships," "vissiers," and "busses," but the two latter are rarely mentioned after the middle of the fourteenth century. The Spaniards had also "caracks," and the Genoese "tarics."

Fleets.

SIZE OF FLEETS.—Abundant as are the Naval records of this reign, none have been found, which, like the

"Roll of Calais,"[a] shew the aggregate number of ships and men employed on any particular occasion. Though the amount of the various fleets mentioned by Chroniclers was often overrated, there can be no doubt that they frequently consisted of many hundred vessels of various sizes and classes, especially when conveying an army in the great expeditions against France. Fleets.

The Navy, as in the preceding reign, was usually divided into two fleets, the one formed of ships belonging to ports to the northward, and the other of ships belonging to ports to the westward of the Thames, including the vessels of the Cinque Ports. There were also occasionally detached squadrons each under its own captain or admiral, for particular service. A southern fleet is for the first time mentioned in July 1360, when the command of the northern, western, and southern fleets was united in the person of Sir John Beauchamp, who, as well as his successors, was also Warden of the Cinque Ports and Constable of Dover Castle. This measure appears to have been called for by the necessity of re-establishing the Navy, and of adopting prompt and vigorous acts for the defence of the country, which was then threatened with invasion. After Beauchamp's death, the command of the three fleets was given to Sir Robert Herle, who was succeeded by Sir Ralph Spigurnell, though the emergency had ceased; but in, if not before, 1369, the Navy was again divided into the northern and western fleets. In 1337 the command of the northern fleet was held

[a] The original Roll has not been discovered. Vide p. 95, *ante*. Each person appointed to impress ships made a return of the number, size, &c. of those he had arrested; but these returns have not always been preserved, and it is not certain that every vessel impressed actually served.

jointly by two admirals,[a] possibly because it was likely that one of them would be employed elsewhere.

Admirals. The ambiguous terms "captain and admiral," on which some observations have been made,[b] continued to be used. A commander-in-chief was generally styled "captain and admiral;" but others, with apparently the same authority, and performing the same duties, were merely described as "admirals." On the other hand, the commanders of small squadrons were called "captains." "Vice-admirals" are also mentioned.

The following notices of the various vessels employed at sea by Edward the Third, are necessary illustrations of the Naval history of his reign.

Ships. SHIPS.—This generic term included vessels of all kinds, but it sometimes described a particular class, though of various sizes. Thus, a vessel is described as "the King's ship called the 'Cog Thomas,'"[c] "the King's ship the 'Alderhalwen Cog;'" and under the word "ships," all kinds of vessels were impressed for the King's service.

Ships appear to have averaged about two hundred tons, and the largest of which the tonnage is given was only three hundred.[d] They were manned with about sixty-five men to every hundred tons of burthen, besides soldiers and archers, who were generally equal in number, and amounted to about one-half of the crew, a ship with one hundred mariners being armed with twenty-five soldiers and twenty-five archers.

[a] Vide p. 25, *ante*.

[b] Vide vol. I. p. 396.

[c] Fœdera, III. 195.

[d] This was the "Christopher of Exmouth," one of the merchant-vessels captured by the Spanish galleys in the Bay in 1376. She was valued, with her cargo," at 1695*l.* of the money of that time. Vide p. 153, *ante*.

Pilots seem to have formed a distinct class of mariners, called "lodesmen;" and several instances have already been given of the use of the word. In January 1338 an order was issued to provide two "lodesmen" to conduct Sir William Fitzwarine and his colleague safely to Zealand; and four other "lodesmen" were required to bring two Genoese galleys towards Norfolk.[a] Ships.

English ships bore no proportion in size to those of Spain, which are everywhere said to have been larger than the vessels of other countries,[b] and so much higher out of the water as to have possessed great advantage in battle. It speaks little for the naval enterprise of this country, that Edward did not, like Alfred, build vessels capable of coping with this formidable enemy; and it may be doubted if, except the "Christopher," he had any vessel which approached the Spanish caracks in size or beauty, or in the essential qualities of a ship of war.

BALINGERS, which are not so often mentioned as cogs and barges, appear to have been a kind of barge. In 1338 a person is described as late keeper of the "King's ships, galleys, barges, balingers, and other vessels."[c] Balingers.

BARGES have been frequently noticed.[d] At this time they seem to have been smaller than cogs, though of a large size, and they formed part of every fleet. In 1374 the King's barge the "Paul" had eighty sailors; and his barge the "George," sixty.[e] The newly-built Barges.

[a] "North." Portfolio, "J. P. R., 7433."

[b] Mons. Jal (II. 317) says the difference in size between the ships of Portugal and Spain and those of Normandy surprised him."

[c] Roll "T. G. 11,097."

[d] Vol. I., *passim*, and pp. 3—155, *ante*.

[e] Fœdera, III. 996.

Barges. barges of St. Botolph and Hull had each sixty-seven sailors, fifteen soldiers, and fifteen archers; but some other barges had from twenty to thirty archers, from twenty to thirty soldiers, and from seventy to eighty-seven sailors.[a] In March 1360 "all large ships and barges fit for war" were ordered to be impressed.[b] "Two barges and two other large ships" are mentioned in 1335[c]; and there are many notices of the construction, purchase, and equipment of barges to resist the enemy.[d] In October 1358 Walter Norman and his seventeen companions, being in the King's barge on the Thames near the Savoy, by night and day, for the safe custody of John King of France, who was taken prisoner at Poictiers, were paid threepence a day each.[e]

Caracks. CARACKS appear to have been very large ships;[f] and though Edward had a ship called "La Carake" in 1338,[g] the term was generally applied to Spanish or Genoese vessels; but Froissart, speaking of a large fleet with which the King of France intended to go to the Holy Land, says, it consisted of ships, "caracks," hus,[h] cogs, and other vessels;[i] and Minot states that there were two caracks in the French fleet in the Channel which captured the "Christopher" in 1338.[k]

Cogs. COGS.—As the King's own ship the "Thomas," and the English ship most celebrated for her size and

[a] Fœdera, III. 973, 998, 999.

[b] *Ibid.* p. 476.

[c] *Rot. Scot.* I. 392.

[d] *Ibid.* pp. 471, 475, 479, 483, 484.

[e] *Issue Roll*, 32 Edw. III., ed. Devon, p. 168.

[f] Walsingham, (p. 319,) speaking of a carack in 1383, says, she was "miræ magnitudinis."

[g] Roll "T G. 11,097."

[h] Mons. Jal seems to consider that "hus," or "heus," was the vessel called in English a "hulk." Archéologie Navale, I. 129; II. 225.

[i] Vide p. 24, *ante*.

[k] Vide p. 36, *ante*.

beauty, the "Christopher," were "cogs," it must be inferred that a cog was the first-class vessel of the fourteenth century. It appears, moreover, that they were good sailers, for in 1360 the "Thomas" and another cog were described as "these two escouters."[a] The crew of the cog "Thomas" consisted of the master, two constables, two carpenters, one hundred and twenty-four sailors, and eight boys, sometimes called pages; and she was probably from two hundred to two hundred and fifty tons burthen.[b] There is reason to believe that she was sunk in the battle of "Espagnols sur Mer," as she is not mentioned after that event.[c] Cogs.

CRAYERS.—A crayer was a small merchant vessel, which seldom exceeded sixty tons in burthen.[d] Three ships and a "crayer" of Plymouth conveyed Constance Lady Knollys, twenty men-at-arms, and forty mounted archers, and her suite, to Brittany, in April 1360.[e] Crayers are also mentioned in 1370,[f] and in a petition to the King in 1376.[g] In 1372 the Commons stated that all provisions were brought to the counties of Gloucester and Bristol on the river Avon in "crayers" and boats.[h] Crayers were classed with fishing-boats, and other small vessels under thirty tons burthen, in 1341.[i] Crayers.

[a] Roll "W. N. 894." Literally, a skimmer:—"*Escumer le mer*, to scour as a fleet of warlike ships the sea, to play the pyrat;"—"*Escumer*, a pyrat, or a rover at sea." Cotgrave.

[b] In 1338 the King's cog "Alderhalwen" was two hundred and forty tons, while the largest of his ships were one hundred and eighty tons. Roll "W. N. 43."

[c] Vide p. 107, *ante*.

[d] Vide pp. 84, 87, 90, *ante*. A crayer of Gillingham, called the "James," of sixty tons, worth with her cargo 180*l*., was one of the ships captured by the Spaniards in 1376. Vide p. 153, *ante*.

[e] Fœdera, III. 485.

[f] Issue Roll, 44 Edw. III., ed. Devon, p. 266.

[g] Rot. Parl. II. 345.

[h] Ibid. p. 312.

[i] Fœdera, II. 1156. Vide p. 71, *ante*.

Doggers and Lodeships.

DOGGERS and LODESHIPS were then, as Doggers are now, chiefly used for fishing. By a statute passed in 1357, which contains some curious regulations about fishing, it was enacted that all the ships called "doggers" and "lodeships" belonging to certain ports in Norfolk should discharge their fish within the haven of Blackney only.[a] A dogger sometimes had thirty men; for in May 1373 that number of mariners was impressed for the "Mary, dogger of Clay;" then going abroad in the King's service.[b]

Fluves.

FLUVES.—There is much difficulty in stating exactly what a fluve, or flute, was. The general opinion is, that they were large flat vessels, drawing little water, and principally used on rivers,[c] or to land troops, horses, and stores on the enemy's coast; but the "Cog John" was called "the King's fluve;" the "Messager," the "Welfare," and the "Lawrence" were also fluves; and in 1345 Edward took his passage to Flanders in his fluve the "Swallow."[d] That they were very large, is certain; for they were the only vessels which are stated in naval accounts to have had two masts and two sails. It would seem that they had also two rudders,[e] probably one at each end, rather than the old rudders, or paddles, at the sides. The "apparel" of a fluve called the "Mary of the Tower" consisted, besides other articles, of two masts, three yards, two new triefs, or sails, for the two masts, and of two "rothers," and two tillers. The fluve "Lawrence" had also two masts, two yards, and two sails, with a bonnet. When-

[a] Statute 31 Edw. III. st. 3. c. 2. Vol. I. p. 355.

[b] Fœdera, III. 977.

[c] Drags, otherwise called "floats" or "flottus," used for carrying timber, goods, and merchandize on rivers, are often mentioned on the Rolls of Parliament, vol. III. 665; IV. 332, 351, 379.

[d] Vide p. 85, *ante*.

[e] Vide p. 167, *post*, and the APPENDIX.

ever vessels were required to convey troops, fluves are mentioned. In 1344 the King's fluve called the Lawrence, going to Brittany, had thirty,[a] and in 1373 the fluve "Thomas" carried thirty-eight men.[b] Their sail contained about one hundred and twenty ells of canvas, that being the quantity issued to the master of "one of the King's fluves."[c] Edward the Third commanded the burgesses of Kingston-upon-Hull, who had previously built a barge, for his service, to build a fluve; but they prayed to be excused on account of their poverty, which was, they said, caused by their shipping having been impressed and detained in his service.[d] Fluves.

FISHING-VESSELS were not allowed to be of more than thirty tons burthen.[e] Fishing-vessels.

GALLEYS are constantly mentioned, but none of the notices afford any additional information respecting them. Galleys.

GALIOTS.—Minot speaks of galiots as having formed part of the French fleet in 1338, but the word rarely occurs. It may be presumed that they were a kind of small galley.[f] Galiots.

HOCBOATS seem to have been the modern "hooker," and they are said to have been originally used for fish- Hocboats.

[a] Roll "T. G. 765."

[b] Roll "W. N. 857."

[c] Wardrobe Accounts, 22nd and 23rd Edw. III. in the Archæologia, vol. XXXI.

[d] Rot. Parl. (inedited) quoted in Frost's Notices of Hull, p. 133, but where "floyve" is erroneously printed "floyne." In 1377 the burgesses of Beverley were exempted from contributing to the subsidy of ships, barges, and boats furnished by Kingston-upon-Hull. Rot. Pat. 51 Edw. III. m. 36.

[e] Rot. Claus. 11 Edw. III. m. 35, cited in the Mare Clausum, b. II. cap. XXI. Selden, in cap. XX., gives a translation of a record of this reign, but without referring to his authority, in which he says "fly-boats, barks, and barges of ten tons" are mentioned. In his original work the words are, "naves, flimos, creiras, bargeas;" ("flimos" being evidently a literal error for *fluvos;*) *i.e.* "ships, flutes, crayers, and barges."

[f] "Eight and forty galays and mo,
And with them als war tarettes two,
And other many of *galiotes*,
With grete noumber of smale boats."

ing, but they were afterwards employed in carrying goods and on some occasions in war.[a] Froissart, describing the French fleet at Sluys, says, there were more than one hundred and forty ships besides "hokebos."[b]

Hulks. HULKS.—Though the Anglo-Saxons had vessels called "hulks,"[c] and though the term frequently occurs in the fifteenth century, it has been rarely found in the reign of Edward the Third. Froissart mentions "hus" among the vessels of the King of France in the Mediterranean in 1336;[d] and one of the vessels transferred to the custody of the newly-appointed keeper of the King's Navy in 1338, was a "hulk" called the "Christopher of the Tower."[e]

Keels and Segboats. KEELS and SEGBOATS.—Keels, in the fifteenth, and probably also in the fourteenth, were, as they are in the nineteenth century, low flat-bottomed boats, generally used to carry coals from the shore to ships at Newcastle-upon-Tyne.[f] Keels were, however, also used on other rivers; for on the 18th of January 1337, eight boats called "keels and segboats" (a term which has not been elsewhere found) were ordered to be provided at Lynn and Cambridge, for the purpose of being converted into barges, to proceed with other ships in the King's service.[g]

Lighter. LIGHTER.—On one occasion only is a "lighter" mentioned. About 1372, 3*s.* 4*d.* was paid for the hire of a "lyghter," to carry casks from the Tower to Billingsgate to a ship.[h]

Lique. LIQUE was a small, light, swift vessel. Froissart

[a] Archéologie Navale, II. 218.
[b] Vide p. 49, *ante*.
[c] Vide vol. I. pp. 8, 11, 22.
[d] Vide pp. 24, 159, *ante*.
[e] Roll "T. G. 11,097."
[f] Rot. Parl. 9 Hen. V. vol. IV. p. 148.
[g] Rot. Scot. I. 480.
[h] Roll "T. G. 674." Vide the APPENDIX.

says that Don Alphonso of Spain escaped from an English squadron in 1342 in a "lique."[a]

Lynes. LYNES appear to have been small galleys, but Walsingham speaks of "two large galleys and another kind of vessel called line, a barge, and seven balingers."[b] In the Chancellor's speech, on opening Parliament in 1371, he said the French had collected a numerous fleet of galleys, flutes, "lynes," and other vessels.[c]

Pessoners. PESSONERS, or "poissoners," were fishing-boats. Only one instance has been found of the use of the word: in 1341 the admiral was ordered to provide one hundred ships called "pessoners," or "poissoners," and crayers, and other small vessels carrying less than thirty tons.[d]

Pikards. PIKARDS.—This word only once occurs; and it appears that "pikards" were merely large boats. In March 1371 all ships of one hundred tons and upwards, all vessels and boats called "pikards," carrying ten or more tons, in the Severn, Wales, and elsewhere in the western counties, except Bristol, were ordered to be sent to Plymouth.[e]

Pinnaces. PINNACES are mentioned on numerous occasions. In 1339 two "espinaces" were placed under the command of Sir Richard Talbot, for the defence of Southampton.[f] The "Margaret spinace" was one of the English vessels at the battle of Sluys, and had a crew of about thirty-five men.[g] Pinnaces also formed part

[a] Vide p. 74, *ante*.

[b] "duæ grandes galeiæ et aliud genus ratis quod vocatur line." See Archéologie Navale, I. 355 *et seq.*

[c] Vide p. 135, *ante*. It is not improbable that "lyne" and "lique" were the same vessel.

[d] Fœdera, II. 1156. Vide p. 71, *ante*; and Rot. Vascon, p. 109.

[e] Fœdera, III. 912.

[f] Rot. Parl. II. 108. Vide p. 45, *ante*.

[g] Roll "J. P. R. 426."

of the English squadron at "Espagnols sur Mer."[a] In May 1350, carpenters and other workmen were ordered to be employed on the King's ships, "pinnaces, and barges."[b]

Shutes. SHUTES were then, as they still are, large flat-bottomed boats. They are mentioned in a petition in 1376, and classed with boats on the Thames in the service of the King, of his children, of the lords of the city of London, and of all the commons of the realm, which had been allowed free passage without being impeded by the "nuisance" of locks, weirs, stages, or bridges; but they were, it is said, then injured by a new lock called Hamerden Lock, where a boatman had lately perished, and by tolls being demanded from them at the bridges of Staines, Windsor, and Maidenhead, as well as at all the locks.[c] Shutes were also used for landing or embarking horses in the King's expeditions.[d]

Tarics. TARICS were large ships of burthen, principally used in the Mediterranean, though Minot says there were two "tarettes" in the French fleet in the Channel in 1338.[e] Their size may be imagined from the fact, that in 1281 ten tarics conveyed three hundred men-at-arms and three hundred horses, with their esquires and attendants.[f] The Genoese complained in 1370 that a ship and two "cogs, or taritæ" of Genoa, laden with merchandize, had been unjustly captured at sea by the English;[g] and when peace was concluded with that

[a] Vide pp. 104—111, *ante*.

[b] Fœdera, III. 196. Vide p. 102, *ante*.

[c] Rot. Parl. II. 345, 346.

[d] In 1370, forty shillings were paid for eleven shutes, by agreement, for conveying eight thousand four hundred and sixty-four horses to the ships at Rye, going with Sir Robert Knollys to Brittany. Issue Roll, 44 Edw. III., ed. Devon, p. 269.

[e] Vide p. 162, *n.* f, *ante*.

[f] Ducange, *in voce;* Archéologie Navale, II. 221.

[g] Fœdera, III. 907.

state in the following year, it was stipulated that all Tarics. their galleys, cogs, "taricis," ships, and all large and small vessels, should be admitted into the ports of the realm.[a]

Much new and curious information has been obtained from the Naval accounts of this period respecting the CONSTRUCTION, RIGGING, MASTS, SAILS, and STORES of SHIPS; and the nautical reader will perceive with some surprise that precisely the same technical terms often occur as are now used; though there are many expressions which have become obsolete, and not a few of which the meaning has not been discovered. In only two instances[b] does it appear that any ship had more than one mast; and though they had usually a bowsprit, it was so small a spar, that vessels had often two or more spare ones.

The Galley "La Phelipe,"[c] probably the Philippa, and Stores. named after the Queen, had only one mast, which cost 10*l.*; and one yard, which cost 3*l.* One "lof" and one bowsprit cost 2*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* Her cordage included shrouds, "hevedropes," "backstays," "stays," "uptyes," "running-tyes," "crane-line," "hawsers," "cables," "winding-ropes," "swing-ropes," "seasings," "truss-ropes," "tow-rope," "veering-ropes," "boy-ropes," "sheets," "yard-ropes," "bow-lines," and a "sounding-line." She had one large anchor weighing 1100½ lb. of Spanish iron, and five smaller anchors, which cost altogether 23*l.* 10*s.* 3*d.* Her sail contained 640 ells, which was dyed red. To this sail

[a] Fœdera, III. 931.

[b] Those of "fluves:" vide p. 161, *ante*.

[c] Account of the expense of building a galley called "La Philipe," at Lynn, in 1336. Roll "W. N. 579."

Stores. "wynewews" were attached, which were dyed black, and contained 220 ells of cloth; and the sail had a "leechrope," a "bolt-rope," eight "reef-ropes," and "ribondes." Sixty ells of canvas were purchased to double the sail, which was made under the superintendence of the master and constable of the galley; and it was sewn by twenty-four women. She had twenty-four "skalters," eighty oars, and two "rafters," and an entire covering of cloth, called a "panell," in which were 576 ells, and was dyed red. Two "leopards" (lions of England) adorned the galley, being placed on the "stamps," probably on two posts near the stern. Instead of a pump, water was ejected from the galley by a "winding-balies," into which the water was put by two "spojours." The vessel was "purified" or cleansed by twenty-four tunnels, or "tynels." Her sides were greased, and her bottom paid with a mixture of pitch, tar, oil, and rosin. A piece of timber for her "rother," or rudder, cost 2*s.*; and 200 lb. of Spanish iron was bought "to make two chains for her rudder,"[a] which prove that she had only one rudder, and that it must have been fixed to her stern."[b] She was caulked with "mosso," possibly moss and hair. The artificers employed in building this galley were her master-carpenter, who was paid 6*d.* a day; other carpenters who received 5*d.*; clinkerers, at 4*d.*; holderers, at 3*d.*, and servants or attendants on those workmen, at $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ a day.[c]

The account of the expenses of repairing the "Cog Thomas" and some other cogs at Winchelsea, in 1347, supply additional information. A "helm" or

[a] "gubernale."
[b] Vide vol. I. p. 371.
[c] Roll marked "W. N. 579." Vide the APPENDIX.

tiller for one of these "escomers"[a] cost 4*s.*; a piece of wood for a rudder[b] cost 14*s.* 4*d.*; and hooks, bands, and other iron[c] for the rudder cost 8*s.* The fastening of a helm of the cog "John," 8*d.*; and a capstan for the cog "John," 3*s.* Vessels carried several bowsprits, which spar seems to have been a short outrigger without any sail, as three bowsprits were purchased for the said cog, and cost only 2*s.* 6*d.*: two bowsprits were likewise bought for the cog "Thomas." An oar cost 8*d.*, and the making of it 1*d.* Only one mast is mentioned; and in these accounts, as on most other occasions, the sail is called a "trief," as "a trief for the cog 'Thomas,'" "a trief for the cog 'John,'" "a trief with the bonnet," "a yard for the trief of the boat." Two beams were bought at Sandwich, apparently by the King's personal orders, to place the mast of the "Jonette" more aft. Stores.

Two entries are still more peculiar, namely, a "delf" for putting a ship afloat, and for the expenses of fifteen mariners on the "ragger" of the cog Thomas, and of twelve mariners on the "ragger" of the cog Jonette by the King's command, that is to say, fifteen mariners in the "Thomas" and twelve in the other.

The castles of ships were built by a particular class of workmen, for the artificers employed in repairing these "escomers" consisted of "shipwrights," "carpenters," "castlewrights," "hurdisers," and "deliverers."[d] Castles appear to have been only used for war, and to have been affixed when a merchant-ship was converted into a fighting-vessel. Thus, in 1335, the Castles.

[a] Vide p. 159, *ante*.
[b] Roll "F. L. H. 618."
[c] Roll "F. L. H. 618."
[d] Ibid.

Stores. "Trinity," of two hundred tons, was prepared for war with an "ofcastle, topcastle, and forecastle;" the "ofcastle" being the aftcastle, and the "topcastle" the "top," or stage at the top of the mast: and ropes were bought for pulling stones up to the "topcastle."[a]

Froissart states, that when the Spanish fleet came in sight of Edward's ship before the battle of "L'Espagnols sur Mer," he was listening to his minstrels;[b] and it appears that a stage or forecastle was purposely erected in the King's barge for them, as there is a notice of "a poop with the forecastle for the minstrels belonging to the King's barge."[c] The forecastle was then, as since, the place where the crew usually assembled, whether for consultation or amusement. Speaking of a person on board a ship, Chaucer says he "danced for joy in the forestage."[d]

In 1338, five hundred esterling boards, three hundred strong empty casks, and sixty masts, each fifty feet long at the least, were purchased.[e] In April 1347 the collectors of the naval subsidy in London were directed to buy eight banners for four ships, called the "Edward of Greenwich," the "St. Mary cog of London," the "Plenty of Hooke," and the "Barnaby of London," which were then ready to proceed to sea.[f] The prior of Blida was ordered to deliver forty oaks to the King's carpenter, for building a galley, in 1337; and the sheriffs of London were commanded to provide five thousand of iron, two hundred eastland boards, and a hundred quarters of

[a] "E. B. 1534."

[b] Vide p. 105, *ante*.

[c] Roll marked "T. G. 11,097." Vide the APPENDIX; and see a representation of a Ship in a subsequent page, where the minstrels appear in the forecastle.

[d] The Merchant's Second Tale, l. 2199.

[e] Rot. Scot. I. 521.

[f] Fœdera, III. 116.

sea-coal, to make anchors for the King's ship the "Christopher" and his cog the "Edward."[a] Stores

Blocks are nowhere mentioned; but they are shewn in several early drawings[b] to have been similar in shape to those now in use, and were then called "polyves," *i. e.* pullies. The words "sheeves" and "swivels" occur, as do "hawsers for warping," and "cables for caggings."[c] Among the articles which were ordered to be provided, in February 1338, for ships, were bridges, clays, boards, racks, ropes, canvas, staples, rings, iron, nails, empty casks, "and other things necessary for shipping horses."[d]

Other notices of ships and their stores occur in the receipt given to a late "clerk of the King's ships, galleys, barges, balingers, and other vessels," by his successor, on the 22nd of June 1338. He received "an old ship called the 'Trinity of the Tower,'" with a "topcastle," a "rack," an anchor, a large old cauldron for the kitchen, a "trief" half used without a bonnet, a little decayed boat called the "cock," and a "mustardquerne" or mustard-mill; a galley called the "Jesu Maria," of which one Antony was "comiter," with four triefs and bolt-ropes, an anchor, apparently called the "tyntawe," three other anchors called "ship-anchors," and a pitch cauldron; a ship called the "Bernard of the Tower," without a "rother," with a cock, six other boats half built, a trief with a bonnet, a sailyard, a bowsprit, a topcastle, a grape-iron with a chain, an iron "myke-hoke," a mustard-querne, a scoop, and sixteen old pavises; a barge called the "Mary of the Tower," with a mast, a trief with four

[a] Fœdera, III. 958.
[b] Additional MSS. 12,228, f. 18[b].
[c] Roll "H. C. H. 623."
[d] Fœdera, III. 1016.

Stores. bonnets, a topcastle, a sailyard, a bowsprit, a "rack," a "truspaill," a sherehook, and a "mykehok;" the ship called the "Carak," with a bowsprit with two "polyves" or pulleys, a rack with two "sustres," a truspaill with two "sustres," two slings, and a truss; the hulk called "Christopher of the Tower," with "a good corps with one good bonnet" and two decayed bonnets, five anchors, one of which was unstocked, and a junk, a little boat called the cock, a large saw, a david for the forecastle, and a brass kettle for the kitchen. He also received twenty barrels of pitch, twenty-three of tar, fifty-three "dolys" of spruce fir, two hundred long and one hundred short oars, besides twenty long beech oars and twenty-two short ones for the galley, a great anchor called the "tyntawe."[a] In the account of stores supplied to the ship "Plenty" of Hull, in 1345, were a new topcastle, a skull, two sounding-lines with the leads, four buoys and buoy-ropes, two hatches, a table, and two "cavenaz" for eating on, three small lanthorns, and a sailing-stone.[b] One ship had "a fane," wooden cups ornamented with two copper dragons, and another cup with two copper dragons, (but for what purpose does not appear,) and a line for radelings[c] of the head-ropes. Several ships had "a navegore," or "naugar," "a mast with all the shrouds," "backstays" "two sheten and two loefsheten," "a deadman's eye,"[b] (probably the present "dead-eyes,") and a rudder for the boat.[d]

The most remarkable notices of ship's stores have, however, been found in the receipts of the clerk of the King's ship the "George" in 1345. He "pre-

[a] Roll "T. G. 11,097."

[b] Portfolio, "T. P. R. 7433."

[c] *Query*, rattlings?

[d] Portfolio, "T. P. R. 7433." Vide the APPENDIX.

sented" that the master and constable, with all the crew of that ship, had been at the board[a] of the King for seventy days. Among his disbursements were the following payments:—To a mariner called a "lodman," for conducting (piloting) the ship from Bursledon near Southampton to the Solent, 2*s.*; for piloting her from the Downs to Sandwich, 6*s.* 8*d.*, and the same sum for piloting her back again to the Downs. He paid 9*s.* at Sluys, in Flanders, for twelve glass horologes, probably hour-glasses, and for four horologes of the same kind, 3*s.* 4*d.*; for nine "godettis," called "flegghes," a sort of cup, 5*s.* 3*d.*; and for a large "godett" for the King, 12*d.*; for "diverse instruments pertaining to a ship," 7*d.*; for "twelve stones called adamants, called sail-stones,"[b] 6*s.*; for three lanthorns for the said ship, 4*d.*: and 400 ells of canvas were bought to make sails for the King's barges and boats. Various things were purchased for "a great engine," consisting of cables, (which, as on other occasions, were wrapped in canvas to preserve them,) "uptyes," and lead. These articles were placed in the church of Graveninge, because "the great engine" was broken before the cables arrived. For brooms for washing the ship, 3*d.*; sixty oars at 8*d.* each, and four large and long oars called "skulls," 4*s.* 8*d.*; for twenty lanthorns, 11*s.* 3*d.*; and two hawsers for a castle called a "somer-castle." A large quantity of canvas was obtained for making sails, and 48½ ells for making "a new caban" in the "Isabel" for Sir Guy de Brian.[c]

Store

The accounts of the clerks of the King's favourite ship the cog "Thomas" and the "George," imme-

[a] "ad mensam."

[b] Vide remarks on the COMPASS in a subsequent page.

[c] Roll "T. G. 10,181."

Stores.

diately after the battle of Sluys, contain some interesting facts. On the 14th of July 1340 the sum of 36*l.* 3*s.* 4½*d.* was received for the wages of the crews of the "George," the cog "Thomas," and the "Messenger," commanded by Adam Cogger, lying at Sluys, by the King's orders; and also for those of the "Philipe," the "Robinet," the "Margaret pinnace," commanded by William Fissbe, and the barge "d'Abbeville," going to England, all of which vessels formed part either of the English or French fleet in the action; and it is said that the "George" and the barge or galley of Abbeville were captured on that occasion.[a]

Some of these vessels had, like the galley "Philipe," leopards' heads upon the "plats," which cost eighteenpence. They were painted, and are said to have been "in loco signi," the exact meaning of which expression must be left to conjecture. These accounts mention the purchase of two pairs of fetters, staples, and hooks for confining the prisoners captured in the "George" at the battle of Sluys, and contain the following entries illustrative of nautical matters:—The cost of a hinge for the rudder[b] for the cocket of that ship, for tallow for breaming her "long-boat," and for wood for an anchor-stock.[c]

Sails.

The Sail of a ship is called in records written in Latin "velum," and those in French generally "trief," but in a few instances "sigle," which tends to shew that "trief" did not, as has been suggested, mean "a particular kind of sail, apparently used only in bad weather."[d] In no instance is more than one sail said to

[a] Vide p. 56, *ante*.
[b] "gouvernal."
[c] Roll "J. P. R. 426."
[d] Vide vol. I. p. 157.

have belonged to any vessel in the numerous records which have been examined, except to the two fluves; but it was, when necessary, enlarged by having one or more bonnets laced to the lower part of it.[a] Thus, frequent notices occur of "a trief without a bonnet," of "a trief with a bonnet," of "a trief with the bonnet," of "a trief with three bonnets," of a new sail ("velum") with three bonnets, and of "mending the sail and bonnets of the King's ship called the 'Alice.'"[b] A bonnet is mentioned by Chaucer:— Sails.

"Lodisman
Stere onys into the costis as well as thou can;
When our shippis be ycom, that we nowe pass in fere,
Lace on a bonnet or tweyn, that we may mowe saile nere."[c]

Some expressions relating to sails, which appear to have been dyed of two or more colours, are peculiar. The sail of the hulk "Christopher of the Tower" is called a "corps" or body (of a sail), instead of a "trief;"[d] and a "borde-sail" is twice mentioned;[e] but the only obscure expression is "wynewes."

Ships were armed with espringalds, haubergeons, bacinets, bows, arrows, jacks, doublets, targets, pavises, lances, and firing-barrels; and the "Christopher" had besides ten kettle-hats.[f] Guns and gunpowder will be noticed hereafter. The espringalds, and bows with "brate," which were in the ship "Alisot," were ordered to be sent to Portsmouth, and delivered to the admiral there, in February 1337.[g] Most ships when Armament.

[a] Archéologie Navale, II. 154—156.

[b] Rolls "T. G. 11,097;" "F. L. H. 618;" "H. C. H. 382," &c.

[c] The Merchant's Second Tale, l. 868—871.

[d] "un bon corps ove un bonet bon et ij bonetz febles. Roll "T. G. 11,097;" and Portfolio, "J. P. R. 7433."

[e] Portfolio, "J. P. R. 7433."

[f] Rolls "W. N. 873;" "T. G. 16,475;" and "T. G. 674." Vide the APPENDIX.

[g] Rot. Scot. I. 484.

Armament. prepared for war had an armourer and a fletcher, under whose immediate care bows and arrows were placed: he was bound to keep them in repair, and his wages were sixpence a day. The armourer was provided by the clerk of the ship, with whom he entered into indentures for the performance of his duties.[a]

All these stores, together with banners, banner-staffs, streamers, and standards, were in the charge of an officer called "clerk of the armour and artillery of the King's ships and barges."[b]

Impressment. Seamen as well as soldiers, and every article[c] necessary for the King's service, continued to be obtained by impressment, authority for which was incidental to the office of Admiral. It was, however, often given to other officers, and occasionally, by a special instrument, to the masters of particular vessels; as in October 1335 to the master of the cog "Edward," in 1336 to the master of the "Rode cogge," and in 1337 to the master of a barge.[d] It is not surprising that this power was often abused. A lawyer presented a petition to the King in 1337, complaining, that, though he had neither lands nor tenements, and had never borne arms in peace or war, Sir John Roos, the King's admiral, had nevertheless ordered him to equip himself as a man-at-arms, and to be at Orwell on pain of imprisonment as a rebel, which would, he said, ruin him, and be very injurious to his clients. Having proved that he was an attorney, Sir John Roos was directed not to enforce the summons.[e]

[a] Rolls "T. G. 11,097;" "F. L. H. 618;" "H. C. H. 382," &c.

[b] This office was for some time filled by Sir John Hatfield. Roll "T. G. 22,469," which contains a curious account of banners, armour, &c.

[c] Fœdera, III. 323, 1017.

[d] Rot. Scot. I. 383, 465, 483.

[e] Rot. Parl. II. 96. The lawyer

The wages of officers and seamen in this reign continued to be nearly the same as in the preceding century. An admiral's salary and allowances will be stated in a subsequent page; and it will only be observed here that the admiral of the northern fleet in May 1327 received five shillings a day for his wages and those of his clerk and two valets, while employed in selecting and fitting out the ships under his command.[a] The masters, constables, clerks, and carpenters of ships were paid sixpence, all sailors threepence, and boys one penny or three halfpence a day;[b] but in September 1370 an additional penny a day was granted to the seamen, on account of the dearness of provisions.[c] In June 1336 the seamen who had been impressed in Wales to serve at sea against the enemy, refused to embark unless their wages for the whole period were first paid them; and though the King stated that there was no precedent for complying with that demand, every one being bound to serve for the defence of the realm against invasion, yet he was nevertheless pleased, of his grace, to grant them a subsidy towards their expenses, but "not as wages."[d] On one, and probably on other occasions, the King gave the master, crew, and soldiers of his galley, the "Thomas" of Calais, a coat of ray-cloth.[e] Wages.

Bread, wine, and stock or salt fish formed the chief part of the provisions of the Navy.[f] Provisions.

describes himself as "un apprentiz de la Court nostre-Seigneur le Roy et attourne;" and he adds that the injury to his clients arose from his being an attorney.

[a] Rot. Scot. I. 211, 212.

[b] Issue Roll, *passim*. In 1338, the master and constable of the "Margaret" were, however, paid twelvepence a day, though the crew had only the usual wages of threepence. Portfolio, "J. P. R. 7433."

[c] Issue Roll, 44 Edw. III., ed. Devon, pp. 272, 273, 274, 277.

[d] Fœdera, II. 941.

[e] Wardrobe Accounts, 21 and 22 Edw. III.; Archæologia, vol. xxxi.

[f] Rot. Scot., anno 1337, vol. I. p. 480.

Punishments.

Every commission issued to an Admiral contained a clause giving him authority to "chastise and punish" offenders in his fleet, though such powers were incidental to his office. A captain of a ship was not permitted to punish any seaman, unless he had received special authority to do so; but offenders were to be taken into custody and sent to the Admiral, who would chastise them according to the laws of the sea.[a] In 1336 the masters of the cogs "Edward" and "Red cog," and of the King's ship the "Christopher," were, however, empowered to "chastise and punish all mariners and other men in those ships as often as they should happen to offend, according to the custom of mariners."[b] Penalties were affixed to certain crimes;[c] but, except the use of the words "chastise and punish," and the reference to ancient usages at sea,[d] there is nothing which proves, though it is very probable, that seamen were then flogged.

Freightage.

The cost of the FREIGHTAGE of ships may be estimated by the following facts:—For a ship with a crew of thirty-eight men, and which carried twenty soldiers and sixteen archers to Normandy from Southampton in 1370, the sum of 30*l.* 6*s.* was paid; and for another ship with a crew of thirty-two men, carrying the above number of soldiers and archers, 29*l.* 3*s.*[e] The expense of the passage of the Duke of Clarence, with four hundred and fifty-seven men-at-arms and one thousand two hundred and eighty horses, from Dover to Calais,

[a] Vide p. 192 *et seq.*, *post*. It will not fail to be observed how closely the recent regulation, by which no captain can inflict corporal punishment in harbour, without the Admiral's approbation, resembles the ancient usage.

[b] Rot. Scot. I. 424, 442.

[c] Vide p. 192 *et seq.*, *post*.

[d] Seamen were certainly punished corporally in the reign of Richard the First. Vide vol. I. p. 91.

[e] Issue Roll, 44 Edw. III. p. 183.

in May 1368, in thirty-nine ships and thirteen smaller vessels, was 173*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; namely, for every large ship 3*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, and for each of the others, 2*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, besides 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* for the pontage[a] of the horses.[b] In 1358, when the King was going to Gascony, the owners of the ships that conveyed the horses were paid a florin de scuto for each, or one noble for two horses.[c] Freightage.

As in the reigns of Edward the First and Edward the Second, NAVAL OFFICERS consisted of Admirals and Captains, Masters[d] or Commanders, Constables and "Comitres;" but it appears that large vessels had also a Clerk and a Carpenter. Officers.

ADMIRALS and their duties will be afterwards particularly noticed.

MASTERS, CONSTABLES and COMITRES.—Nothing has been discovered respecting these officers besides what has been already stated. "Comiter" occurs only once in this reign; when it is said that a galley called the "Jesu Maria" formed part of the King's Navy in 1338, of which Antony is "comiter."[e] It appears that "masters" began to be called "captains" of ships towards the end of the reign of Edward the Third.

CLERK.—The duties of the Clerk seem to have been very similar to those of the modern purser, except that all the stores, as well as provisions, appear to have been in his charge, and sometimes to have been provided by him. He was also the pay-master of the crew;[f] he entered into engagements with the ar-

[a] *I. e.* for bridges or pontons. In the Issue Roll of 1370, (p. 269,) a payment occurs for wood, iron, and nails, to make bridges to ship horses.

[b] Fœdera, III. 845.

[c] Ibid. III. 412.

[d] "Magister;" its synonym "Rector" rarely occurs after 1350.

[e] Roll "T. G. 11,097."

[f] Rolls "T. G. 16,475;" "W. N. 43;" "E. B. 49," and other accounts.

Clerk. mourer, and probably with other workmen to serve in his ship,[a] and received sixpence a day for his wages. The term "burser" of a ship, whence the word "purser," is found on one occasion,[b] and seems to have indicated the officer who is elsewhere called the "clerk."

Carpenters. CARPENTERS.—Large ships had two carpenters, and their importance, if not relative rank, is shewn by their pay being the same as that of the master, the constable, and the clerk, namely, sixpence a day.[c]

The Compass. THE COMPASS.—Though nowhere mentioned by its modern name, there are undoubtedly a few notices of the compass[d] in the Naval accounts of Edward the Third's reign. The loadstone was then termed "the sailstone,"[e] or "adamante," and the compass itself "sailing needles and dial." In 1345 a "sailing-piere," or stone, was supplied to the "Plenty," of Hull;[e] and in June 1338, "two sailing needles and a dial" formed part of the stores of the barge "Mary" of the Tower.[f] But the most remarkable entries are in the accounts of the clerk of the King's ship the "George," in 1345. After stating that he had purchased at Sluys, in Flanders, sixteen "horologes," probably hour-glasses, and paid for repairing "diverse instruments pertaining to a ship," it is said that he had spent six shillings for "twelve stones called adamants, called sail-stones."[g]

[a] Rolls "T. G. 16,475;" "W. N. 43;" "E. B. 40," and other accounts.

[b] Vide APPENDIX, p. xxiii.

[c] Ibid.

[d] Vide Vol. I. pp. 247—250.

[e] Portfolio, "J. P. R. 7433." Vide the APPENDIX.

[f] Roll "T. G. 11,097." Vide the APPENDIX.

[g] "T. G. 10181." Vide the APPENDIX.

Chaucer says,

"Right as betwixtin adamantis two
Of evin weight, a pece of yron set,
Ne hath no might to movin to ne fro,
For what that one maie hale, that othir let."

Assembly of Foules, l. 148-151.

Chaucer mentions a "compass," but it is doubtful whether he meant a mariner's compass;—

> "Round was the shape in manere of a compas,
> Ful of degrees the hight of sixty pas:"—[a]

He says elsewhere that vessels steered at night by the pole-star;—

> "For they were cleen in dispeyr, because they myghte not se
> The loder whereby these shipmen ther cours take eche one."[b]

Colours. COLOURS.—A variety of colours were borne by ships in the fourteenth century. Besides the national banner of St. George and the banner of the King's arms, which, after the year 1340, consisted of three lions of England quartered with the arms of France,—azure semée of gold fleur-de-lys,—every ship had pennoncels with the arms of St. George,[c] and two streamers charged with the image of the saint after whom she was called; but if she had not a Christian name, the streamers contained other charges. The standards of St. George had sometimes a leopard, *i.e.* the lion of England, in chief.[d]

In 1337 the "St. Botolph" and the "Nicholas" carried streamers with the images of the saints of those names.[e] Before the battle of "Espagnols sur Mer," in 1350, two standards and two streamers were issued to all the King's ships, those called after saints having their effigies. Some of the other streamers were peculiar. That of the "Jerusalem" was white and red, and contained white dragons, green lozenges,

[a] The Knighte's Tale, l. 1891, 2.

[b] The Merchante's Second Tale, l. 836, 837.

[c] About 1346, one hundred and sixty pennoncels, with the arms of St. George, were made for ships. Roll "F. L. H. 639," and printed in vol. xxxi. of the Archæologia.

[d] Roll "T. G. 2469," and list of streamers and standards, armour and artillery, delivered to divers masters of ships and barges for divers voyages. 43 and 49 Edw. III., 1369 to 1376. Roll marked "E. B. 380."

[e] Roll "E. B. 520." These streamers were from fourteen to thirty-two ells long, and from three to five cloths in breadth.

Colours. and leopards' heads. That of the "Edward" had the King's arms with an E; and the streamer and banner of the ship appointed for the King's wardrobe was charged with his arms and a black key.[a] Two gonfanons are once stated[b] to have been supplied to ships, probably to distinguish the vessels that bore them from other vessels.

Streamers were considered warlike ensigns, for one of the requisitions made to the mayor of Lynn on the part of the French ambassadors appointed to carry the treaty of Montreuil into effect, was, that the masters of ships belonging to Lynn, who were going to those ambassadors in Hainault, should be forbidden to bear unusual streamers, or other signs of "mortal war," until commanded to do so by the King, to avoid incurring the dangers mentioned in the eighth article of a convention agreed to before Pope Boniface the Eighth, for settling some disputes between the French and the inhabitants of Lynn, and of other maritime towns of England and Gascony.[c]

The banner of the Admiral of a fleet was hoisted on board his ship;[d] and when any eminent person was a passenger, his banner seems also to have been displayed. In 1337 Sir John Roos, Admiral of the northern fleet, was sent to convoy the Bishop of Lincoln and the Earls of Salisbury and Huntingdon, on their return to England from a foreign mission;[e] and the "Christopher" was therefore furnished with banners of the arms of Sir John Roos, of the Bishop of Lincoln, and of the Earl of Salisbury.[f]

[a] Roll "W. N. 1215."

[b] Roll "T. G. 22,469." Also a streamer charged with a dragon.

[c] Original in the Tower.

[d] Vide p. 88, *ante*.

[e] Vide p. 28, *ante*.

[f] Roll "E. B. 520." These banners were one ell and three-quarters long, and two cloths wide. The "Christopher" also received a ban-

Besides streamers containing a representation of the saint after whom a ship was named, his image seems to have been likewise sent on board. When Edward the Third embarked in his cog the "Thomas" in 1350, before the battle with the Spaniards, an image of St. Thomas appears to have been made for that vessel;[a] and an image of our Lady, which had been captured in a ship at sea by John de Ryngeborne, was carefully conveyed from Westminster to Eltham, and there delivered to the King, in February 1376.[b] Targets and pavises, or large shields, great numbers of which were placed in every ship, were sometimes painted with the arms of St. George,[c] and at others with an escutcheon of the King's arms within the garter.[d]

Images of Saints in Ships.

Targets and Pavises.

GUNPOWDER AND CANNON.—Few questions of an antiquarian nature are more curious than the precise period when gunpowder was invented, and when cannon were first used as an implement of war. Great obscurity still rests on both points, though much learning has been recently brought to the subject.[e] There are strong reasons for believing, that, like the magnetic power of the loadstone, gunpowder was known to the Chinese for many centuries before it was discovered in Europe. According to some authorities,

Cannon and Gunpowder.

ner of the King's arms, and two worsted standards, which were nine ells long and three cloths wide. Ibid.

[a] Roll "W. N. 1215." A feather bed was made for the King, and sent aboard the "Thomas" on this occasion. Ibid.

[b] Issue Roll, 50 Edw. III., ed. Devon, p. 201.

[c] Rolls "E. B. 520;" "T. G. 674."

[d] Wardrobe Accounts, 29 Edw. III., and Roll "T. G. 22,469."

[e] See the learned Memoir on Gunpowder, and its introduction into France, by Monsieur Lacabane, printed in "La Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartres," second series, vol. I. pp. 29—57; and an able article, entitled "Observations on some ancient pieces of ordnance and other relics discovered in the island of Walney, in Lancashire," by C. D. Archibald, Esq., with numerous engravings of ancient cannon, printed in the Archæologia, vol. XVIII. pp. 372—379.

Cannon and Gunpowder.

Roger Bacon suggested that it might be applied to warlike purposes; and others consider that it was invented by Bartholomew Schawrz in the early part of the fourteenth century; but there is no indisputable or satisfactory evidence of the existence of cannon before February 1325–26,[a] when iron balls or shot were made for cannon of metal for the use of the Florentine republic.[b] Barbour states that "two novelties," one of which were "crakys of war," (probably a species of cannon,) were seen in the army with which Edward the Third invaded Scotland in 1327,[c] which is very probable. Cannon were certainly used at the siege of Cambray, in October 1339; and in December following, saltpetre and sulphur were bought for gunpowder.[d]

Hitherto, however, no contemporary evidence of the use of cannon in England (except, indeed, the rhymes of Barbour) has been brought to light; for, though Edward is said to have had cannon at the battle of Cressy, there is no proof of the fact. Frois-

[a] In the Romance of "Sir Tryamour," as now printed, which is supposed to have been originally written in the reign of Edward the Second an allusion occurs to cannon; but so many additions have been made to it at subsequent periods, that little reliance can be placed on that fact as being proof of the use of guns before 1327.

[b] Documents printed by Mons. Lacabane, from the original.

[c] "Twa noweltyeis that dai thai saw
That forouth in Scotland had been nane:
Tymmris for helmys were the tane,
That t'other crakys wer of war,
That thai before heard never er;
Of thai tua things thai had ferly
That nycht thai walkyt stalwartly." Book XIX.

The following recipe for making "krakes," which occurs in an English manuscript of the fourteenth century, has been obligingly communicated by Thomas Wright, Esq;—

"A fere le krakes. Prenez vostre psal-petre, si departez en 2. Apres la moyté departez en 2, e donc remeint la quarte partie. Encontre cele partie prenez soufre vif, issi que la suffre peise meins par un poy. Donque peisez charbons owelement encontre la quarte partie del salpetre, e quant vous averez tut ceo fait, le braez bien en un morter e metez en le cod."

[d] Documents printed by Monsieur Lacabane.

sart speaks of cannon in 1356;[a] and Knyghton[b] says that Sir Thomas Morieux was killed by a gun in 1359. Those dates are later than the period when cannon were undoubtedly employed in the field; but no attempt has been made to shew when guns were placed in ships; and the first time they are expressly said by Froissart to have been used at sea was in the Spanish squadron in 1372, though, for the reason which has been assigned, the assertion is very doubtful.[c] Cannon and Gunpowder.

Under these circumstances the notices of cannon and gunpowder[d] which have been recently discovered are of great interest, as the information which they afford is equally original, accurate, and important. It is manifest from these records that cannon formed part of the armament of many ships as early, and probably a few years before, 1338; that, about 1372, guns and gunpowder were commonly used; that some guns were made of iron, some of brass, and others of copper; that there was a kind of hand-gun as well as large cannon; and that gunpowder was formed of the same elements, and made in nearly the same manner, as at present.

[a] "Si étoient pourvus selon ce de *canons jetant feu* et grands gros carreaux pour tout dérompre." Ed. Buchon, I. 332.

[b] Speaking of Edward's invasion of France, in 1359, Knyghton (col. 2621) says, "Et notandum quod in toto illo viagio non periit quisdam nostrorum, nec dampnum sustinuit, præter quod dominus Thomas de Morreus percussus est *medio de una gunna*."

[c] Vide p. 142, *ante*.

[d] A curious mistake has been made respecting gunpowder, by Prynne, and adopted by Kelham and other writers. In 1339 thirty tons of "pomadre," fifty quintals of iron, and two quintals of steel, were ordered to be supplied for the defence of a castle in Jersey, (Rot. Parl. II. 109;) and in 1340 thirty-two tons of "pomadre" were provided for the King's service in Kent, (Ibid. II. 115;) which Prynne, in his edition of Cotton's Abridgement of the Rolls of Parliament, p. 24, says, meant *gunpowder;* and observes, "before its pretended invention." "Pomadre" was, however, evidently *cider*, and only another form of the words "pomada" and "pomade." Vide Ducange and Roquefort, in voce.

Cannon and Gunpowder.

Among the stores of the hulk "Christopher of the Tower," in June 1338, were three iron cannon with five chambers, a hand-gun, some article of iron, of which the name is obliterated, for the cannon, and three old stone bags, no doubt bags to hold shot. The barge called the "Mary of the Tower" had an iron cannon with two chambers, and another of brass with one chamber; and a ship called a "carak" had one cannon. Two iron cannons, "without stuff," are also mentioned;[a] and in the King's private wardrobe were two great guns of copper.[b] Guns had, in some instances, handles; for, among the King's expenses between 1372 and 1374, were payments for "helvyng" eight guns.[c] There are also numerous entries in the Naval accounts for those years relating to gunpowder and shot for guns, of which the following are the most material:—A small barrel of gunpowder, a quarter full; one hundred and eighty-four pounds of powder for guns, made from one hundred and thirty-five pounds of saltpetre, and forty-nine pounds of live sulphur; and also two hundred and forty-two pounds of pure live sulphur. Payments occur to workmen for making powder and pellets of lead for guns at the Tower of London. There were purchased coal and five hundred of "talwode" for casting the lead and drying the powder; four trays of wood, and brazen pots and dishes, for drying the powder over the fire and by the sun; also leather bags to hold the same powder; two brass mortars, three iron

[a] Roll "T. G. 11,097." Vide the APPENDIX.

[b] Roll "F. L. H. 532." Vide the APPENDIX.

[c] Roll "T. G. 674." Vide the APPENDIX.

pestles; twelve iron spoons to make leaden bullets; ten moulds of laton, to make the same; one pair of scales to weigh the powder; thirty small barrels, with hasps and staples, to hold the bullets; thirty small hanging locks for the said thirty barrels; two hundred and twenty pounds of saltpetre; two "sarces;" eighteen bellows; earthen pots and pans to dry the powder by the fire and sun; and willows for making charcoal.[a] Cannon and Gunpowder.

Expenses were likewise incurred for the boatage, portage, and carriage of lead, guns, barrels, and other things, and for wages of workmen and labourers making of powder, bullets, and charcoal for twenty-two days, between March 1370 and April 1374. There were then purchased for the King's voyage two hundred "pycoys," thirteen iron "patell'" for guns, two great guns of iron, forty iron martels for guns, twenty-eight iron drivells for the guns aforesaid; twenty-eight firing irons, ten pairs of iron tongs, and one hundred and twenty quarrel heads for espringalds, forming in all twenty-nine iron guns; one great gun of laton, with three "pootz;" twenty-eight firing irons; one pipe and two barrels of saltpetre, weighing one thousand and fifty pounds; sixty pounds of gunpowder; five moulds called "forms" to cast bullets; and one hundred and twenty-six pounds of live sulphur.[b]

The Navy was entirely managed by the King and his Council; and whenever information or advice was General Management of the Navy.

[a] M. Lacabane observes, in his treatise, that he had not found any notice of charcoal for making gunpowder, but, as he rightly conjectures, it certainly was then used in its formation.

[b] Roll "T. G. 674." Vide the APPENDIX.

required on maritime affairs, two or more of the most substantial inhabitants from each of the sea-ports, best acquainted with the subject, and with the state of shipping, were commanded to attend the council,[a] and sometimes the Parliament.[b]

Minutes of Council.

It is remarkable that the earliest Minutes[c] of the proceedings of the King's Council now extant should relate to the Navy; and as those Minutes have much historical interest, from shewing the manner in which the business of the country was then conducted, as well as a particular value in elucidation of the Naval history of England, a translation of them will be given.

The first Minute contains some directions which were issued to Sir John Roos, one of the Admirals of the King's fleet in 1337:[d]—

"Let Sir John de Roos, Admiral, be commanded to survey all the ships which are arrested for the service of the King from the mouth of the Thames towards the north, and to hasten them, that they be in the port of Orwell on the eve of Pentecost at the latest, ready to proceed thence with the Admiral, wherever he will conduct them, and to certify in the chancery the number of the ships which are of thirty tons burden and above; and how many men they require for a double shipment, and also of the names of the ships and the masters."

The following Minutes seem to have been made about the same time:—

[a] Vide *ante*, and Prynne's Animadversions on the Fourth Institute, p. 114.

[b] Vide *ante*, and Rot. Claus. 47 Edw. III. m. 13 d.

[c] Those minutes were unknown to the editor of the "Proceedings of the Privy Council," printed by the Government, in seven volumes, in 1834—1837, which commence in the tenth year of the reign of King Richard the Second.

[d] Vide p. 25, *ante*.

"Let a writ be sent to the bailiffs and good people of the city of Norwich, that the hundred armed men who are chosen by Sir John de Roos, Admiral in the said city, to go with him by sea in the service of our lord the King, for the reinforcement of his Navy, be ready, and that they be entirely obedient to the said Sir John de Roos. Minutes of Council.

"Let there be a writ to the same bailiffs and good people to be intendant to the Admiral according to the form of his commission.

"Let there be a writ or letter under the signet[a] sent to Sir John de Roos, Admiral, stating that when he shall have assembled the Navy from the mouth of the Thames northwards to Yarmouth, to what part he ought to proceed with the said Navy, and at what day he ought to be there at the latest; and that he ought to serve for his wages for fifty men-at-arms, one hundred armed men, and three hundred archers, in reinforcement of the aforesaid Navy;[b] and for how long a time they shall be at wages from the period of his arrival with his people to the aforesaid town.

"Let him have a letter of the signet of the day and the place according to that which was before agreed; and when he shall come to the place, that is to say, to Yarmouth, with his men-at-arms and other armed people and archers, they shall be reviewed by those who shall be deputed by the King: they shall be paid their wages in the manner and form hitherto used."

The other Minutes appear to have been made

[a] "de la targe."

[b] "qant il avera fayt sa cuyllete e la navye."

Minutes of Council.

about January 1345, when the Earl of Arundel was for the second time appointed Admiral of the western fleet;[a] and the reason assigned for choosing a person of rank for that office is very remarkable;—

"It seems to the Council, if it please the King, that the ships of the Cinque Ports, well equipped for war, should be sent speedily to sea, to search and explore the sea, with an Admiral; so that this voyage be not reckoned against the King in the service of forty days which they have granted to the King,[b] and that he shall have the assistance of the ships of Southampton, and others, if need be; and that the Admiral shall go with them, with certain men-at-arms and archers.

"The Archbishop of Canterbury will speak of these two points to the King and the Earl of Salisbury.

"Item, The Archbishop shall cause to come before him certain people of the said ports, by whom he may the better be informed concerning the day and the manner of their voyage, and towards what parts, and of the number of ships which shall go to sea; so that the ships shall return before the Trinity.

"Item, That all those who are appointed to arrest and cause ships to be equipped, and to cause some to proceed to Portsmouth by the octaves of Easter, and some by the eve of the Ascension, be commanded that they surcease to send them, or cause them to proceed at the said days, but that they cause them to be equipped as before, according to the form of their commission, so that all the ships, as well towards the north as towards the west, and also towards Wales, well equip-

[a] Vide p. 83.

[b] The ships of the Cinque Ports were bound to serve forty days in each year at the cost of the barons. If they remained at sea after that period, it was at the King's expense.

ped for war, shall be at the said place of Portsmouth on the feast of the Trinity next coming, to proceed from thence in the King's service, according to what the King shall make known unto them. Minutes of Council.

"Let writs be made out speedily.

"Item, That the Earl of Arundel be made Admiral, for no one can chastise or rule them unless he be a great man.[a]

"The King has sent after him.

"Item, That the arrayers of the men-at-arms, and others who shall go in the said fleet, be commanded not to bring the said men until the said feast of the Trinity, so that they cause them to be arrayed and equipped according to the form of the commission made thereupon, and that they be at Portsmouth at the said feast of the Trinity.

"Let the writs be made out.

"Item, That . . . . . provisions which are ordered for the said passage be provided by parcels in certain counties, according to that which shall be ordered by the council. And that commands be made to every sheriff towards the south, where the provisions shall be provided, to cause those victuals to be paid for out of the issues of his bailiwick, as far as they can, and to assign a day for those from whom the provisions are taken to receive payment for the remainder.

"Let writs be made out in the form above agreed.

"Item, Be it remembered to speak to the King, if he wishes that all the ships shall be assembled at Portsmouth, or that part of the said ships shall be at other places, and at what places.

[a] "qar nul ne le pourrait chastier ne mesner sil ne soit un graunt."

Minutes of Council.

"The King orders that they be assembled at Portsmouth all together with the people at the Trinity."

Then follows a note of the quantity of wheat, oats, and malt which was to be provided by each county.

Duties of Admirals.

All details respecting the equipment and management of ships and crews were confided to the Admirals who were from time to time appointed to command the King's fleet[c]. These Admirals held courts of Admiralty within their several jurisdictions for the administration of "le ley marine d'auncien droit," or the ancient marine law; and offenders were ordered to be delivered up to one of the King's Admirals, who was to proceed "according to maritime law."[a] By a writ, ordering the mayors and bailiffs of many places, in October 1369, to provide seamen and other sufficient men for their ships going to Gascony, either for wines or to attack the enemy, they were directed to furnish them with provisions, which were to be paid for by the parties themselves, according to the maritime law.[b]

Admiralty Court.

The Admiral's court, or Court of Admiralty, had cognizance of all proceedings on the sea, or on the coast below high-water mark, of all offences committed by seamen or others on board ships, of complaints respecting the capture of vessels and property at sea in times of peace or truce, of contracts made between merchant and merchant beyond sea, mariners' wages, freight, demurrage, pilotage, and breaches of disci-

[a] Prynne's Animadversions, p. 413.

[b] "secundum legem maritimam." Fœdera, III. 832.

[c] Prynne's Animadversions, pp. 116, 117, 339—342, 413, who cites various Records, and the "Black Book of the Admiralty." In p. 115 Prynne describes and discusses the authority of the "Black Book;" whence it appears that it was written at various times, no part being earlier than the reign of Edward the Third.

pline. The laws of Oleron were the marine code generally referred to, and fine and imprisonment, with forfeiture of goods and chattels were the usual punishments inflicted. Duties of Admirals.

The duties and jurisdiction of an Admiral, as well as everything relating to a fleet and to Naval discipline, are fully described in a document which has hitherto escaped attention, but which affords the most interesting information on the subject that has yet been discovered.[a]

An Admiral after receiving his commission was immediately to appoint his lieutenants, deputies, and other officers, who were to be well acquainted with the law and the ancient customs of the sea. He was then to ascertain from them the number and sizes of all the ships, barges, balingers, and other vessels in the ports, and the names of their owners. These deputies were also to ascertain by inquests how many fencible seamen were in the realm, so that the King and council might always know his force at sea. When a fleet was ordered to be equipped, the Admiral, if a knight, was to be paid 4*s.* a day; if a baron, 6*s.* 8*d.*; and if an earl, 8*s.* 4*d.* For each knight in his retinue he was allowed 2*s.*, and for each esquire armed, 1*s.*; for thirty men-at-arms, 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* a quarter, and for each archer 6*d.* a day. He was to take measures for the proper administration of justice in all causes brought before him "according

[a] This MS., with some other valuable Naval papers, is preserved in a volume belonging to the Right Hon. John Wilson Croker. It is in old French, and seems to have been copied from the "Black Book of the Admiralty," as it precedes two other documents, which, according to Prynne, were in the "Black Book." Its authenticity is satisfactorily proved by internal evidence; and, as barons and earls are the only peers mentioned, it was probably compiled before the creation of the Duke of Lancaster, in 1351. A literal translation of this remarkable document will be found in the APPENDIX.

Duties of Admirals.

to the law and ancient custom of the sea;" for which purposes, and for the due performance of his other duties, the King's letters were sent to mayors, sheriffs, and other officers, enjoining them to be obedient to him and to his deputies.[a]

As soon as a fleet was collected, the Admiral was to choose the best ship for the King's own person if he were present, or, if he were not present, then for his lieutenant, which ship was called "The King's Chamber." If the King were present, the next best ships were to be selected by the steward of the household, one for the hall,[b] a second for the wardrobe,[c] a third for the larder, and a fourth for the kitchen; and other ships were, if necessary, to be taken by the steward. Should a son, a brother, or an uncle of the King be present, good ships were to be provided for them. Before the Admiral selected a ship for himself, he was to assign and deliver to the lords and captains about to embark, each according to his rank, sufficient shipment, as well for their persons as for their stores.[d] Every master and every constable of a ship was to be paid 6*d.*, and each mariner 3½*d.* a day, with 6*d.* a week in addition as "reward;" and every sea-boy 2½*d.* a day:[e] but neither the masters, nor constables, nor boys were to receive any fixed "reward."[f]

[a] These letters were frequently issued on the same day, or soon after that on which the Admiral was appointed.

[b] The ship called "The King's Hall" ("La Sall du Roi") is particularly mentioned by Froissart at the battle of "les Espagnols sur Mer." Vide pp. 104, 109, *ante.*

[c] The ship for the King's wardrobe was probably a kind of storeship carrying spare armour and "artillery" of all kinds, as those articles were issued out of the Great Wardrobe. This vessel was distinguished by having a black key in her streamer Vide p. 182, *ante.*

[d] "vitaille," meaning, probably, their property of all kinds.

[e] "ij ob." But this was probably an error of the transcriber, as all the Navy accounts shew that boys did not receive more than three-halfpence a day.

[f] "ne prenant nul regard en cer-

Duties of Admirals.

As the Admiral was, it is said, the commander of the sailors, and as he was bound to support them in all their laws and customs, to defend them against all injury, and, if necessary, to sue for their wages, he was entitled to 4*d.* out of every pound paid to them, for which 4*d.* he was to carry two lanthorns at night at his mast-head while the fleet was at sea, in order that the masters of the ships might know the course he was steering.

If the King were in the fleet, the Admiral was to approach his ship every evening, and to take his commands as to the course they were to steer during the night and ensuing day: if the King were not present, this was to be done to his lieutenant. The ships were then to assemble round the Admiral, to obtain the same information from him. The King's ship was to be distinguished by night by three large lanthorns, one being higher than the others, as a triangle, but he might, if he pleased, carry more lanthorns. In his absence his lieutenant was to have the same three lights, but not more. The Admiral was to carry two large lanthorns on the two parts of the mast-head, and he was to permit the Vice-admirals to carry one lanthorn. If, however, the Admiral happened to be the King's lieutenant at sea, he was to carry the three lights. If the Admiral had Vice-admirals, he was to allow them to carry two lanthorns, in order that the fleet might not be dispersed from want of light.

taine." The rate of wages of the sailors and boys is higher by a half-penny a day, than they appear to have been by other documents. (Vide p. 177, *ante.*) But it is probable that the wages mentioned in the text was the allowance made to an Admiral for them, and that the difference formed part of his advantages, or was expended in raising them; the additional penny a day was granted to seamen, in September 1370, on account of the dearness of provisions. Vide. p. 177, *ante.*

Duties of Admirals.

The station of the Vice-admiral of the west extended from the Thames to the south-west, and while upon it he might carry two lanthorns, as did the Vice-admiral of the north when to the northward and eastward of the Thames; but, if either of the Vice-admirals were on the station of the other, he was only to carry one lanthorn.

If the Admiral desired to call together the captains and masters of the fleet to consult them, he was to hoist in the middle of his mast a "banner of council," on seeing which they were to go in their boats and hasten to his ship: neglect or disobedience of this signal was to be punished according to the laws of the sea.

Prize Money.

All goods taken from the enemy by persons receiving the King's wages were to be divided into four parts, of which the King took one fourth, and the owners of the ships another fourth part. The remaining moiety was to be given to the captors in these proportions:—The Admiral took two shares, that is, as much as two mariners, if he were present when the prize was captured, but, if not, he was to have only one share; and those of the fleet who were out of sight at the time of the capture, but so within sight that they might semblably assist the captors of the prize with their sails if it were necessary, &c.[a] Of property taken by galleymen or others, who were

[a] The passage, of which the above is a literal translation, is very obscure:—"Et iceux de la flote qui sont hors de vieue au temps de la prise, et deins la veue par ency qu'ils soient semblables aider a les captours de la prise ove leur veilles, si myster soit," &c. It probably referred to a well-known law, similar to one that still exists, by which a vessel is entitled to share for a prize, if, on hearing guns fired, she did her best to approach the spot, even though she were not actually in sight at the moment of the capture. See the original in the APPENDIX.

not at the King's wages, the King was to have no part, but it was to belong wholly to the captors, except the Admiral's two shares of each ship.[a] Prize Money.

The "Articles of War," as they would now be called, are then minutely stated, with the following introduction:—"Hitherto we have treated of the election of the Admiral; now we make the ordinance how the Admiral himself should rule and govern by sea and land in an enemy's country, if he come there." Articles of War.

No man was to touch the holy sacrament upon pain of being drawn and hanged, nor to commit sacrilege or rape upon pain of death.[b] No master was to cross his sail aloft[c] until the Admiral had done so; but, immediately after he had crossed his sail, all the ships and vessels were to cross their sail. Nor was any vessel to anchor before the Admiral; but, as soon as he had anchored, all the ships were to anchor as close to him as they conveniently could, and when at sea they were to keep as close to him as possible, neither far ahead nor astern of his ship, unless ordered to do so. No ship was to enter or leave a port by night or day without his permission. When a ship discovered an enemy at sea, she was to hoist a banner. If any ship were permitted to leave the fleet, and met a strange vessel at sea or in an enemy's port, she was to examine her cargo and inspect her papers; and should anything suspicious appear to shew that it was enemy's pro-

[a] Then follows this obscure passage: "that is to say, as much as two men; one" "ove la mayne et l'autre ove la vitaille et la nief."

[b] Similar laws existed for the regulation of the Army.

[c] To "cross the sail" was then a common expression because it was square. Thus Chaucer says, in "The Merchant's Second Tale," l. 2102,

"They made their takelyng redy, and wend the sail acros."

And again, line 2164,

"When he saw the saylis stond all acros."

Articles of War.

perty, the said vessel and her master were to be taken to the Admiral, who was to release her if a friend, and keep her if an enemy, according to the law of the sea. Should any vessel offer resistance, she was to be treated as an enemy and brought to the Admiral, but without pillaging or damaging her. In the event of any ship being captured, no one was to presume to take her out of the fleet without the Admiral's leave, upon pain of paying double her value. The captors of an enemy's vessel were entitled to the goods and armour on the hatches and upper deck, except the tackle and other things belonging to her equipment; and except also what was exempted by the ancient customs and usages of the sea. No seaman was to be beaten or ill used, but transgressors were to be brought by the captain or master to the Admiral, to receive such punishment as the law of the sea provided.

In case of the separation of the fleet in a gale, the ships were to follow the Admiral if in sight, or, if not, the Vice-admiral, as well as they could, upon pain of being considered rebels. On arriving in an enemy's port, the Admiral was to appoint a sufficient force to protect people sent for fresh water and other necessaries. When a castle or city was to be attacked, no one, whatever might be his rank, was to make an assault or "draw the bow" against the place without the Admiral's orders. When troops landed on an enemy's territory for provisions, they were not to proceed until the harbingers returned to them. No place was to be set on fire without the Admiral's orders. Soldiers and mariners were not to be landed unless they were accompanied by responsible officers,

lest they might commit outrages and other excesses. No boat was to be sent back into any port, after the fleet had sailed, without the Admiral's permission. No ship, "from pride, envy, or hatred," was to injure another. Search was to be made in ports for thieves who stole ropes, boats, anchors, &c. He who was convicted by a jury of twelve persons of having stolen an anchor or a boat worth 21*d.*, was to be hanged; if a buoy-rope, and it were fastened to an anchor, the thief was to be hanged, whatever might be its value.[a] For cutting the cable of a ship the penalty was death in case any one lost his life; but, if no one were killed, the offender was to make good to the owners whatever damage might have been done to the ship, and to pay a fine to the King. If he were unable to do so, and the owners prosecuted, he was to be hanged; in this case, it was added, he was not to be condemned at the King's suit, and there was not to be "an appeal of battle." Similar penalties awaited him who weighed an anchor without informing the master or crew, in case death ensued, or the ship were lost from the want of the anchor. If a sailor were condemned to death for stealing the goods of aliens, the said aliens, if not enemies, were to have them restored, provided they did not insist upon the felon's being executed. Articles of War.

If a foreign ship were plundered and the men were ill-used in any port, the warden and six or eight of the most efficient persons of such port were to be arrested until the Admiral had ascertained by whom

[a] By the 45th article of the Laws of Oleron, every master of a ship was obliged to cause his name, or the name of the ship, or of the port to which she belonged, to be marked on her buoys.

Articles of War.

the felony was committed. If there were many ships in that port, the Admiral was to take the masters and bursers[a] and four of the crew, and cause the ships to be searched until he found the criminals, or was informed by whom the robbery was committed. Stealing an oar, anchor, or "other small thing"[b] was punished, after conviction by a jury, with imprisonment for forty days; for a second offence, half a year; and for a third, the offender was to be hanged. No lieutenant of an Admiral could try matters involving life and death without a special warrant. Provision was then made for divers minor offences, which were punished with fine or imprisonment, or both. If a man injured another in a quarrel, and was the beginner of the fray, he was not only to make the other amends, but he was to pay a fine to the King of 5*l.*, or lose the hand with which he struck the blow, unless he obtained the grace of the King or the High-Admiral.[c] Offenders were to be imprisoned by the master of the ship until he had made the Admiral or his lieutenant acquainted with the circumstance. In doing so the master was to be assisted by the crew, and if any refused to aid him he was liable to the same punishment as the malefactor himself. The process in the Admiral's court against a criminal who had absconded is fully described, and it is said to have been compiled as early as the reign of Henry the First.

If a ship which had been impressed for the King's service broke the arrest, and the fact were proved by

[a] This word occurs for the first time.

[b] Ships were supplied with several small anchors. Vide vol. I. p. 77.

[c] "Haut Admiral." This is the first time the expression has been met with.

a jury, she was to be forfeited; and it is added, that, disputes having arisen about the manner of arresting ships, an ordinance was made on the subject at Grimsby by King Richard the First.[a] Imprisonment for one year was the punishment inflicted on a seaman who refused to serve at sea, whether in war or peace; and for a second offence, two years. Reference is then made to King Edward the First's ordinance at Hastings in 1274, which has been already mentioned.[b] Contracts between merchant and merchant beyond sea, or within flood-mark, were to be proclaimed before the Admiral; and hue-and-cry or bloodshed within his jurisdiction was punished with two years' imprisonment and a fine. Merchants having sometimes gone on board vessels entering a port to purchase the whole cargo, and sold it afterwards at a higher price than the original owners would have demanded, to the great injury of the common people, such offenders were to be punished by imprisonment for half a year, and to pay a fine equal to the value of the goods so bought. The same penalty awaited the purchasers in gross of corn, salt or fresh fish, or other provisions within the flood-mark. If a warden of a port or water-bailiff levied unlawful customs, he was to be imprisoned and fined the amount so levied. Various regulations occur on this subject and against other abuses; and an ordinance is said to have been made by King John forbidding any custom to be taken for merchandize which had not been sold. If any one sued a merchant or mariner for a matter cognizable by Marine law, he was on conviction to be fined. Goods found at sea, as "flotsam," or at the bottom of the

Articles of War.

Forestalling and regrating.

[a] Vide Vol. I. p. 93.

[b] Vide Vol. I. pp. 306, 307.

Articles of War.

sea, as lead, iron, anchors, and concealed from the Admiral, was an offence punishable by fine, and payment of the value of such goods. All deodands, as gold, silver, jewels, or other valuable things found on a man killed or drowned at sea, or by the mast, or yard, or anchor of a ship, belonged to the Admiral, who was to employ one half for the soul of the deceased, and the other moiety was to be given to his widow, children, brothers, or sisters, if he had any. Carpenters of ships taking extravagant salaries, whereby shipping was greatly injured, were to be fined at the discretion of the Admiral. The exportation of corn without special licence, except to Bayonne, Bordeaux, Brest, and Calais, was visited with a fine of the same value as the corn, "to keep and save the King's customs."

In the volume containing the preceding document there are three other papers, some, if not all of which, were copied from the Black Book of the Admiralty. One of those papers is a copy in French of the Laws of Oleron, as far as the 22nd article,[a] but having at the end of each article these words, "et cest le judgment en cest cas."[b] Then follow twelve other articles, which are said to have been "ordained and established by the law and custom of the sea;" but none of them are of much importance, except the last, which is a literal copy of the Ordinance printed by Selden,[c] and before alluded to,[d] which is said to have

[a] The Laws of Oleron contain forty-seven articles. Vide Vol. I. pp. 93—97.

[b] A copy of this code, or of the Laws of Oleron, appears to be preserved among the municipal archives of Southampton, two extracts from which have been printed by Mr. Wright, in the "Transactions of the British Archæological Association," 1846, p. 37.

[c] Mare Clausum, b. II. cap. XXVI. p. 402.

[d] Vide Vol. I. pp. 154—157.

been made at Hastings by King John, commanding ships and vessels to lower their sails to the King's lieutenant or Admiral at sea. Articles of War.

The Marine law relating to wages and profits of English seamen was elucidated in the latter part of the reign of Edward the Third, by an inquest[a] held at Queenborough on the 2nd of April 1375, for settling certain doubtful points according to ancient usage[b] by the oaths of seventeen persons, all of whom were apparently mariners, and mostly belonging to the Cinque Ports, Greenwich, Gravesend, or Gillingham, before William Lord Latimer, chamberlain of England, and warden of the Cinque Ports, and Sir William Neville, Admiral of the northern fleet. The questions then determined related principally to the wages and privileges of seamen in merchant-vessels in their voyages from the "Pool of London" coastwise, and to Bordeaux, Lisbon, Bayonne, Seville, Rochelle, Ireland, Flanders, and Prussia, and have now little interest. It appears that, besides their wages, mariners were entitled to carry one ton of the cargo, or one pipe if the vessel were laden with wine. With respect to pilotage, the jury said they could suggest nothing better than what was provided by the Laws of Oleron,[c] which is another proof that those laws were then in force. With regard to prizes and prisoners captured at sea in time of war in the absence of the Admiral, the jurors said, that, after he had taken his share, the remainder ought to be divided into two

[a] This inquisition is mentioned by Prynne, who saw it in the Black Book of the Admiralty, fol. 58 to 63. Animadversions, p. 116.

[b] "pour mettre en certein les points apres escript en mauer come ils ount este user d'auncien temps," — "pui mesme les points desormes tenir formement et continuer selong le veridict apres escript."

[c] Articles XXIII. XXX. XXXI.

Articles of War.

parts, and that one moiety should be assigned for the ship and provisions, that is, for the owners, and the other moiety for the master, mariners, and captors; "but, as the master has greater charge, and is of higher rank than any other in the ship," he should have twice as much as any mariner. The jury requested the King to send his writs to the people of the Cinque Ports and other towns, and to all owners, masters, and mariners of ships in the realm, commanding them to obey this ordinance, and that those who disobeyed it might be punished by the Admiral as an example to others.

The oath of a juryman of the Court of Admiralty is given in English,[a] to which is added the following extraordinary "Note:"—

"If a man be indicted for that he has discovered the King's counsel and that of his companions in a jury, he shall be taken by the sheriff, or by the Admiral of the court, or by other officers to whom it belongs, and brought before the Admiral or his lieutenant, and afterwards arraigned upon the same indictment; and if he be convicted thereof by twelve, he shall be taken to the next open port, and there his fault and offence shall be openly pro-

[a] The oath was as follows:— "This here ye my Lord ye Admirall, yt I John att Nash schal well and trewly enquiere for our Lord ye King, and well and trewelie at this tyme to yow at ys court of ye Admiralty present, as much as I have in knowledge, or may have by information of any of all my felawes, of all manner, articles, or circumstances yt touchen ye court of ye Amiraltee and lawe of ye see, ye which schall be yrad to mee att ye tyme, and I yerupon sworne and charged, and of all other yt maye renewe in my mind. And I ne shall for no ying lett, yt is for to say for fraunches, lordship, kinred, ne allyaunce, frenship, love, hatred, envy, enemyte, for drede of lost of good, ne for non oyer cause; yt I schall so do ye King's counsell, my felawes, and myne owen well and trewelie hele, without fraud or mal engyne. So God me help, and ye holy dome, and by ys boke."

'claimed and shewn in the presence of all there, and afterwards his throat shall be cut, and his tongue drawn out by his throat and cut off from his head, if he make not ransom by fine to the King according to the discretion of the Admiral or his lieutenant. And this is the judgment in this case." Articles of War.

Then follows a list of matters into which it was the duty of a juryman of the Admiralty court to inquire, being those of which that court took cognizance; namely, robberies at sea; assisting an enemy with provisions, stores, or artillery; all felonies; withholding from the Admiral his share of prize-money; waifs, goods flotsam and lagan; unlawful kiddels, weirs, blindstakes, or watermills; property found on dead bodies at sea; whales, sturgeon, porpoises, of which the Admiral has not had his moiety for the King; the manner in which any man killed in a ship came to his death; mayhems, bloodshed, hues and cries; persons who, having been impressed, broke their arrest, or deserted after receiving the King's wages; avoiding payment of customs; the conveyance of goods belonging to the staple to any other place than Calais, or of pilgrims to St. James or elsewhere, without a license; dredging for oysters or mussels out of season, that is, between May and Holyrood day, (the 14th of September,) or keeping the fry of those fish in any season; having gold or silver on board a ship beyond what was required for victualling the vessel; all claims to right of wreck, except by charter or prescription, and making wreck of ships from which a man, a cock, a dog, or a cat had escaped alive, and which had been claimed within a year and a day by their owners; of those who commonly carry armour to the danger of

Articles of War.

the King's subjects; of those who carry corn beyond sea, except to Calais, Bayonne, or Bordeaux, without special license; of seamen who offer violence or strike their masters, contrary to the laws of the sea and the laws of Oleron; of mariners who disobey the lawful commands of their masters, and of masters who do not keep their mariners in peace at table and elsewhere, as the statutes of Oleron enjoin; of pilots who undertake pilotage which they know not how to perform, whereby ships have been lost and men killed; of forestallers, who buy the cargo of any vessel in gross before anchoring, and then sell it by retail; of regraters of fish, corn, salt, or other victuals; of persons who sue at Common law matters pertaining by ancient right to Marine law; of judges who hold pleas appertaining by right to the Court of Admiralty; of those who interfere with the Admiral's lieutenants or his other officers; of false measures, weights, and scales; of misconduct on the part of water-bailiffs; of fishermen who take salmon out of season, or keep the fry; of fishermen in fresh water who have false nets; of those who admit on board their ships outlaws, or their goods and chattels; of serjeants-at-arms and other officers of the Admiral who accept money to release ships or sailors that have been arrested; of those who remove anchors or steal buoy-ropes; of those who on the sea take back provisions or other goods coming to the realm, in prejudice of the King and his people; of masters or mariners who take extravagant wages or portage, contrary to ancient usage; of those who freight foreign ships when they might have ships belonging to the realm at a reasonable price; of carpenters who demand enormous wages; of those who

bring or allow any prisoners to go beyond sea without the King's safe-conduct; of those who by fraud allow any prisoner, in exchange or otherwise, to pass the sea, before his state and condition have been ascertained; of those who commonly trade with the King's enemies without the King's or his Admiral's especial license; "and of all other articles and circumstances touching the Court of Admiralty which may come to your memory by the faith and oath which you have taken." Articles of War.

The preceding documents and other records leave no doubt that causes in the Admiralty court were always tried by a jury; and Blackstone must have been mistaken when he said,[a] that, until the reign of Henry the Eighth, when a statute was passed on the subject, "as this Court proceeded without jury in a method much conformed to the civil law, the exercise of a criminal jurisdiction there was contrary to the law of England, inasmuch as a man might be there deprived of his life by the opinion of a single judge."

Admirals derived all their powers from their commissions, which were nearly in the same terms as those which were issued by Edward the Second. There were usually two Admirals, one commanding the fleet of ships belonging to ports northward and eastward of the mouth of the Thames, and the other the fleet furnished by ports to the northward and westward of the Thames, under each of whom was a Vice-admiral. In consequence of peers and other personages of great rank and high military reputation, in- Admirals.

[a] Commentaries, IV. 268. See Prynne's Animadversions, pp. 114, 116, and *post*.

Admirals.

stead of eminent seamen, having been usually selected for Admirals, they seldom held that office longer than two years; perhaps because they were soon after employed on other services, which accounts for no less than forty-three persons having been made Admirals in fifty years. Another reason for choosing individuals of high rank is stated in the Privy council proceedings before noticed, namely, that sailors would only obey a great man.[a] On three occasions only in this reign was the command of all the fleets vested in one person, who, though not so styled, seems to have been "High-Admiral,"[b] an office often mentioned in the preceding ordinance specifying the duties of an Admiral.

Nothing has been found to shew that the Admiral bore any distinguishing ensign by day; but, as he and his Vice-admiral certainly did so by night, it is extremely probable that his ship should have been indicated by having his banner at the mast-head, which would agree with the fact that vessels were supplied with the banner of the Admiral who sailed in them.[c] It would appear, however, from Froissart, that the Admiral's ship carried a particular signal; for he says, that, when the King assumed the command of the expedition in 1346, he took the ensign from the Admiral, and proceeded ahead to lead the fleet.[d]

The following is a translation of the Commission to Sir John Beauchamp, as Admiral of all the King's fleets, in July 1360:—

"The King to all and singular sheriffs, mayors,

[a] Vide p. 191, *ante*.

[b] Vide p. 195, *ante*.

[c] Vide p. 88, *ante*, note.

[d] Vide p. 88, *ante*.

bailiffs, bailiff's ministers, owners,[a] masters, and mariners of ships, and other his faithful subjects, as well within liberties as without, to whom &c., greeting.—Know ye that we, fully confiding in the circumspection and fidelity of our beloved and faithful John de Beauchamp of Warwick, do appoint him our Admiral of all the fleets of ships south, north, and west so long as it shall please us, giving him full power, by the tenor of these presents, to hear plaints[b] of all and singular concerning those matters which relate to the office of Admiral, and to adjudicate in maritime causes, and to do justice, and to correct excesses, and to chastise, punish, and imprison delinquents according to their demerits; and to deliver prisoners who shall be to be delivered, and to do all other things which to the office of Admiral appertains, as of right and according to the maritime law shall be to be done; and to substitute in his place and depute others whom he shall know to be fit therefore, so often as the same John shall not be at leisure[c] to do all and singular the premises, as shall seem most expedient unto him. And, therefore, we command you, that to the same John and their[d] deputies, in doing and executing the premises, ye be intendant and respondent so often and as the same John or their[e] deputies shall make known unto you or any of you on our behalf. In testimony whereof, &c. Witness, the King, at Westminster, the 18th day of July. By the King himself."[f] Admirals.

Among other laws which were enacted in 1353 for the security of merchants, it was provided "that no Statutes relating to the Navy, temp. Edw. III.

[a] "dominis."
[b] "querelas."
[c] "vacare."
[d] "eorum."
[e] "corum."
[f] Fœdera, III. 505.

Statutes relating to the Navy, temp. Edw. III.

foreign merchant should be impeached for another's fault or for another's debt, whereof he is not debtor, surety, or mainpernour. Provided always, that if our liege people, merchants or others, be endamaged by any foreign lords or their subjects, and the said lords, being duly required, fail of right to our said subjects, we shall have the law of marque and reprisal, as hath been used in times past, without fraud or deceit. And in case that dispute do arise, which God forbid! between us and any foreign lords, we will not that the people and merchants of the said lands be suddenly subdued in our said realm because of such dispute; but that they be warned, and proclamation thereof published, that they shall quit the said realm with their goods freely within forty days after the warning and proclamation so made; and that, in the mean time, they be not impeached nor prevented of their passage, or of making their profit of the same merchandizes, if they will sell them. And in case that, for want of wind or of ship, or for sickness, or for other evident cause, they cannot quit our said realm and lands within so short a time, then they shall have other forty days, or more if need be, within which they may pass conveniently, or sell their merchandize."[a]

The keepers of the passage from Dover to France having increased the fare, it was enacted in 1330 that no larger sums should be taken than the ancient rate of two shillings for every horseman, and sixpence for each foot passenger.[b]

[a] Stat. 27 Edw. III. 2, c. 17; vol. i. p. 339.

[b] Stat. 4 Edw. III. c. 8; vol. i. p. 236. A curious document relating to the Passage vessels, or, as they were called, "fareships," between Dover and Calais, has been obligingly communicated by the Reverend Lambert Larkings from the original. In the reign of Edward the

A statute was passed in 1353, declaring that, if a native or foreign merchant were robbed at sea, and his goods were brought to any port of the King's dominions, and he could prove the ownership by his mark, or his charter, or cocket, or by the testimony of good and true merchants, such goods should be restored to him without suit at common law; and in case that any ship, going from or coming to the realm, were by tempest or other misfortune stranded, and the cargo, which could not be deemed wreck, came to land, it should be immediately and without fraud delivered to the merchant to whom it belonged by similar evidence of ownership, he paying to the salvors such a reasonable sum for their trouble as the sheriffs, bailiffs, or the King's other ministers, with the advice and consent of four or six of the most sufficient men of the county, might determine.[a] This ordinance was carried into effect in the instance of two Scottish ships, which were driven on shore on the coast of Northumberland in February 1372[b]. A ship belonging to the Bishop of Aberdeen and others, laden with merchandize, broke from her anchors in a tempest, and drifted from Aberdeen to Great Yarmouth, where she ran ashore and was seized as wreck; but, it having been represented to the King by the Scottish envoys that two men were then

Statutes relating to the Navy, temp. Edw. III.

Second, and probably long before, a Company called the "Fare Ship Company" existed at Dover; and, as disputes had arisen, it was agreed that in future no Passage-ship should pass except in her regular turn, that is to say, each ship was to have three fares, as rapidly as they could well be performed; after which that vessel was not to make another passage until all the other vessels belonging to the company had had her three fares. If any member of the company disobeyed this regulation, he was to pay 100 shillings to the King; and four men were to be chosen wardens to enforce the agreement.

[a] Rot. Parl. II. 249.

[b] Rot. Scot. I. 948, 949.

Statutes relating to the Navy, temp. Edw. III.

in her, Sir Ralph Spigurnell, the Admiral, was commanded, on the 10th of May 1365, to release her, because it was the law and custom of the realm that neither a vessel nor her cargo should be considered wreck if any living animal were found on board.[a]

Parliamentary proceedings relating to the Navy, temp. Edw. III.

Many other Parliamentary proceedings throw much light upon Naval affairs; and shew how frequently ships were illegally captured, and how destructive to commerce was the system of raising fleets by impressing ships belonging to merchants.

In 1327 Hugh Sampson stated, in a petition to the King in Parliament, that while his ship, called the "Portpays," laden with one hundred and forty tons of wine, was on her passage from Bordeaux to England, she was attacked near a place called the trade of St. Matthew, in Normandy, by four French ships full of soldiers, who slew all the crew and carried off the vessel. The petition was ordered to be referred to the Chancery, where 'right was to be done according to the law used in case of arrest.'[b]

The master and crew of a ship of Bayonne complained that three English vessels boarded her at Sandwich, and carried off the cargo, and rigging, and "hustilment" of the said ship, to the value of 180*l.*, among which were three anchors, three cables, four hawsers, five trusses, the bonnet of the trief, and the trief of the boat. These articles had been seized into the King's hands by Sir Bartholomew Burghersh, Admiral of the Cinque Ports, and were afterwards ordered to be restored to the Bayonnese; but, as they had not received them, they prayed,

[a] Rot. Scot. I. 893, 894. Vide Vol. I. pp. 301, 302.

[b] Rot. Parl. II. 435.

for God's sake, that restitution might be made; and Burghersh was again ordered to obey the King's commands, or to state why he had not already done so.[a] Parliamentary proceedings relating to the Navy, temp Edw. III.

In 1347 the King's Council imposed a tax of 2*s.* upon every sack of wool passing the sea, the same sum upon every tun of wine, and 6*d.* in the pound upon all goods imported, for the expences of ships of war protecting the realm from enemies; but, this having been done without the assent of the Commons, they prayed in the ensuing Parliament that the tax might be discontinued, as part of the impost had already ceased, and as the remainder would terminate at Easter. This petition shews the vigilance of the Commons in resisting any tax that had been levied without their consent.[b] The Commons then complained that though the four great rivers of England, the Thames, Severn, Ouse, and Trent, had from ancient times been open to all ships carrying merchandize; yet that, of late, those rivers had been impeded by gores, mills, piles, and pales by every lord in his own land, so that no vessel could pass without great danger, while in many places the lords took arbitrary ransoms.[c] In 1350 these proceedings were prohibited by statute.[d]

The Commons also represented to the King, in 1347, that the people of his navy of England[e] were subject to all manner of taxes and taillages; and that their ships had been taken and many of them lost in his service, without any compensation being made to them; by the long continuance of which grievances the navy was almost entirely destroyed throughout the country. Their petition that these evils might

[a] Rot. Parl. II. 100.
[b] Ibid. p. 166.
[c] Ibid. p. 169.
[d] Ibid. p. 232.
[e] "les gentz de sa navie d'Engleterre."

Parliamentary proceedings relating to the Navy, temp. Edw. III.

be remedied was met by the stern answer, "Le Roi s'avisera."[a]

In 1348, a ship belonging to London, which had served in the war on the coast of Brittany, having been captured by the Spaniards off Tanney on its passage to Gascony, the owner complained to the King in council, and was told to prefer his request to the King of Spain; and, if that prince did not do justice, he was then to petition the King for an arrest,[b] that is, for an order to seize Spanish vessels until the grievance was redressed. The Commons prayed, in 1354, that no ships freighted to England should be compelled to come to this country or remain here against their will, or be in any manner molested. As the King thought the petition reasonable, he granted it, and declared that those who acted in that manner should incur heavy forfeiture, according to the degree of their offence.[c] In 1362, after representing the heavy expenses to which the people were subjected in providing shipping for the King's wars and expeditions, and the manner in which they were aggrieved by the forfeiture of their ships in case any wools or other goods were found in them that had not paid the customs, though the owners were ignorant of the circumstance, the Commons prayed that no owner or merchant should lose his ship or cargo through the misconduct of the mariners or servants. They were answered, that the statutes were to be observed, and that ships seized under such circumstances should be restored to the owners, provided they established their innocence before a jury.[d] A similar complaint

[a] Rot. Parl. II. 172, 189.
[b] Ibid. p. 208.
[c] Ibid. p. 262.
[d] Ibid. p. 274.

was, however, made in 1365, when the Commons requested that the owners might not lose their ships for that cause, but that the King would proceed against the bodies and goods of the misdoers, to which he assented;[a] and it was accordingly enacted that no ship should be forfeited under such circumstances.[b]

Parliamentary proceedings relating to the Navy, temp. Edw. III.

In 1369 the inhabitants of the towns situated on arms of the sea prayed that they might be allowed to place stakes, chains, and other instruments where the tide rose and fell, as well for the safety of shipping coming there, as for the protection of those places. Permission was granted them to do so during the war, with the least possible injury; but, when the necessity ceased, they were all to be removed.[c] For the security of the coast against enemies, every hundred in the maritime counties was obliged to maintain certain persons called "petty-watch," the expense and some abuses connected with which were complained of by the Commons in 1372.[d] In 1373 the shipowners throughout England presented a petition to Parliament, stating that they had frequently represented their impoverishment and the destruction of the Navy, in consequence of ships having often been arrested half or a quarter of a year before they sailed, during which time neither the owners nor the crews received any remuneration; they therefore prayed that the wages and allowances should commence on the day they were impressed, and be continued until the termination of the voyage. Reasonable as this

[a] Ibid. p. 287.

[b] Stat. 38 Edw. III. c. 8; Vol. I. p. 384.

[c] Rot. Parl. II. 301.

[d] Ibid. p. 314.

Parliamentary proceedings relating to the Navy, temp. Edw. III.

request undoubtedly was, it received no other answer than that arrests of shipping should not take place except when they were wanted, and that payment would be made as was usual and proper. The shipowners also desired that they might be recompensed for such rigging and stores of their ships as might be expended while in the King's service, as had, they said, been ordained in Parliament four years before; but they were told that such allowances had never been granted.[a]

In 1376 the Commons represented that many ships and caracks, laden with goods belonging to the enemy, had been captured in the war, which goods ought to have been forfeited to the King's use, saving one part for the reward of those who took them; but that the Lombards had, by collusion with the King's governors, pretended that these goods belonged to the company of Lombards, who had accordingly obtained possession of them; but that, in fact, the governors had themselves obtained the property for their own use and profit, by which the King had lost 20,000*l.*, and great injury was done to those who had captured them and toiled for the defence of the realm. They were merely told, "Let those who are aggrieved make their suit before the great council, and right shall be done them."[b] In the same year the "poor inhabitants" of the sea-port towns stated that they had hitherto made and maintained the Navy, which had been a great aid and support[c] to the whole realm, and that they had suffered great losses and injuries by the war, but that one of the greatest was now apparent,

[a] Rot. Parl. II. 320.

[b] Rot. Parl. II. 335.

[c] "qe se medelent de navie faire; come devaunt cest heures il ont este en bon purpoise de navie faire et meinteigner, quele ad este graunt eide et recoverir a tout le roialme."

because, if a man, from drunkenness or any other cause, happened to fall overboard from any ship, crayer, shute, cog-ship, boat, or any other vessel on the water, whether in a road or port, and was drowned without any fault of the owner, the ship was to be forfeited to the lord of such place as a deodand; for, as they justly observed, it would be hard for a man to lose his own goods through the fault or drunkenness of a boy. They therefore prayed the King and Council to provide a remedy, or otherwise the navy would certainly in a short time be annihilated, for no one would venture to incur such great expenses for ships unless this were remedied. The answer was not very satisfactory: "If such ships or vessels be at sea, no deodand would be adjudged; but, if they were in fresh water, apply to the King to shew his grace if he pleases."[a] Though the Commons made this abuse part of their grievances in the following year, they received the same answer.[b] Parliamentary proceedings relating to the Navy, temp. Edw. III.

Four ratifications of their ancient privileges were granted to the CINQUE PORTS by King Edward the Third, one on the 25th of February 1327, immediately after his accession, which was exemplified in the following year; the second on the 1st of July 1364;[c] the third on the 18th of July 1364;[d] and the fourth on the 20th of October 1366.[e] The first of these charters contained, at the request of the barons,[f] an interpretation of the clause in Edward the First's Cinque Ports.

[a] Rot. Parl. II. 345, 346.

[b] Ibid. p. 372.

[c] Jeakes' Charters of the Cinque Ports, pp. 43—51. In 1368 the barons succeeded in establishing their right to buy and sell freely in London. Ibid. p. 10.

[d] Fœdera, III. 743.

[e] Ibid. p. 801. The two documents last mentioned do not appear to have been known to Jeakes.

[f] Rot. Parl. II. 435.

Cinque Ports.

charter, that every baron of the Cinque Ports should contribute "according to his faculties," namely, that their goods and chattels should be chargeable, whether they were without or within the liberties of the ports; but such goods were to be exempted from taillages and all other charges whatsoever.[a] In 1340 the barons claimed exemption from the tax of the ninth sheaf and fleece, as well as from the fifteenth levied on all merchandize; and on the 7th of October the King commanded the collectors to suspend their proceedings until after Easter, and stated that, in the mean time, their charters should be examined.[b] The Cinque Ports having furnished six ships of war at their expense for four months, which exceeded their usual "service," the King promised them, in March 1335, that they should not be injured by that circumstance being made a precedent.[c]

On the 11th of February 1341 Edward endeavoured to appease a quarrel between the Cinque Ports and the Bayonnese.[d] In 1359 the King inspected and exemplified the agreement which was made in January 1303 between King Edward the First and the barons of the Cinque Ports, by which the service of shipping from each port was settled.[e]

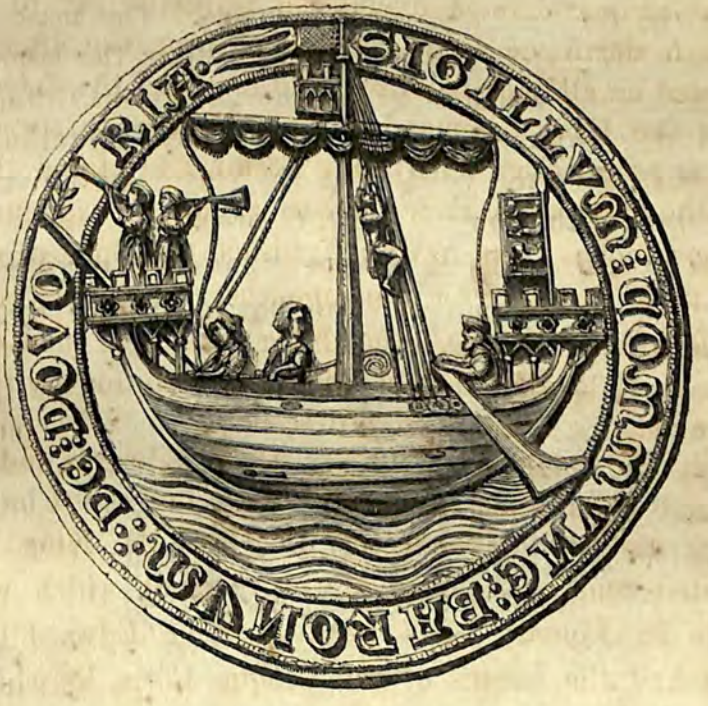
Seals of Sea-ports.

The SEALS of most, if not of all the sea-ports of England, and apparently also of the maritime towns of France and Flanders,[f] contained a ship, with, in a few instances, some additions of a religious or he-

[a] Jeakes, p. 51.
[b] Fœdera, II. 1138.
[c] Rot. Scot. I. 328.
[d] Ibid. p. 1150.
[e] Jeakes, p. 26; Fœdera, III. 460; vide Vol. I.

[f] The Seal of Damme, which is engraved in Mons. Jal's "Archéologie Navale," (I. 245,) closely resembles some of the seals of English sea-ports.

raldic character; and, from many of those seals having been engraved in the fourteenth century, they are valuable illustrations of the vessels of that period. Annexed is an engraving of the seal of the barons of Dover, "SIGILLVM : COMMVNE : BARONUM : DE : DOVORIA;"— Seals of sea-ports.



The rudder at the side of the vessel fixes the date of this seal; and the representations of the fore and stern castles, which are supported by stanchions, and are sufficiently elevated to admit of a man under them, shew how properly they were called "stages." The banner in the stern-castle is that of the Cinque Ports, — gules, three lions of England demediated with as many galleys,—affording one of the earliest examples of arms of a community. A more remark-

Seals of sea-ports.

able point is, however, the forecastle. It will be remembered that Edward the Third's ship is said to have had a forecastle for the minstrels, and that Froissart and other writers constantly speak of trumpets and clarions being in ships. On this, as well as on other seals, musicians accordingly appear in the forecastle blowing trumpets. The mast, top-castle, yard, sail, and rigging, as well as the bowsprit, (the use of which is by no means evident,) differ in nothing from other contemporary representations of vessels; but the pennon at the mast-head is usually charged with the cross of St. George.

The seal of LYME REGIS, "SIGILLVM COMVNE DE LIM," is very peculiar. The bow and stern of this

ship are ornamented with a serpent's head; but she has neither rudder nor bowsprit. Her sail is furled, and the yard shews its position when vessels were at anchor. The banner before the mast is that of England, and the one abaft it is that of Castile and Leon, proving that the seal was engraved after and during

the marriage of King Edward the First with his first wife Eleanor, daughter of Ferdinand the Third, King of Castile. There is a representation of the Crucifixion on the bow, and of St. George slaying the dragon on the stern of the vessel. Seals of sea-ports.

No less than five seals of SOUTHAMPTON have been discovered, of different sizes, and apparently engraved at different periods. On each of them there is a ship, and in one instance the rudder is placed at the stern. The vessels have fore and stern castles, in which musicians appear. This seal, from the build of the ship, and the shape of and marks on the seal, is particularly deserving of notice;—

The stern-castles of the ships on the seals of WINCHELSEA and YARMOUTH, which contain musicians, are so elevated that a man is depicted beneath them; and below the yard of the ship on the Winchelsea seal is a

Seals of sea-ports.

shield with the arms of England. In the middle of the ship on the seal of SANDWICH, a small boat occurs near the mast. The vessel has fore and stern castles, a top and bowsprit, but no rudder. A man sits across each end of the yard; there are two banners in the fore and one in the stern castle: one of the men holds a hatchet, and the other a banner.

There is little variety in the seals of FORDWICH, PORTSMOUTH, DUNWICH, MONMOUTH, MALDON, BRISTOL, and LOOE, except that on the seal of Dunwich the ship, which has the rudder at the side, carries a banner of England in her top; the ship on the seal of Monmouth, which is evidently very ancient, resembles the Saxon vessels, and is probably an "esnek," or "snake;" and the sides of the ship on the seal of Looe are charged with three shields containing the arms of Bodrugan, the feudal lord of the town. The seal of CLIFTON and DARTMOUTH is very peculiar: on a ship without masts or rudder is a woman's bust, having on each side a lion of England.[a]

Many of these seals have a crescent, or half-moon, and a star upon them; and though these objects sometimes occur on other seals than those belonging to maritime towns, it may not be too fanciful to suggest that they referred to the mariner's nightly guides through the deep, before the invention of the compass.

Nobles.

King Edward the Third adopted an effectual method of perpetuating his first great Naval exploit, and of asserting at the same time his right to the Sovereignty of the Sea. In January 1344 three gold coins were struck, one marked with two leopards,

[a] Casts of all these seals have been taken by Mr. Doubleday, and form part of his unrivalled collection.

another with one leopard, and the third with a helmet; but, on the 9th of July in the same year, this money was superseded by a new coinage of "nobles," called "gold nobles," "maille nobles," and "ferlyng nobles."[a] The obverse of the gold noble bore the King's effigy crowned, *standing in a large ship*, holding in one hand a sword, and in the other a shield, with the arms of France and England, and having on the reverse this legend from the Gospel of St. Luke:[b]—

"JESUS AUTEM TRANSIENS PER MEDIUM EORUM IBAT."

"But Jesus, passing through the midst of them, went his way."

Many conjectures have been hazarded on the application of this verse; but the fact seems to have been entirely overlooked that it referred not to the gold,[c]

[a] Fœdera, III. 16, 21. Ruding's History of the Coinage of Great Britain, ed. 1819, vol. II. pp. 161—167. It is remarkable that Edward did not cause himself to be represented in a ship on the first gold coinage, but possibly the idea had not then occurred to him; and though the recall of that money six months after it was issued is assigned by Ruding to its being too high, and generally refused, it may have partly arisen from the King's desire to carry that design into effect.

[b] Chap. IV. v. 30.

[c] Selden (following Camden) says, that "some have conceived this was a sentence in use amongst the chemists, who, by a customary profanation of the name and passage of our Saviour, thought to set forth the majesty and dignity of that art of theirs, which refined the gold for these coins in the time of Edward the third: others, that it served for an amulet or charm to make a man invulnerable or shot-free. We find, indeed, in some lawyers, that these words are placed amongst those that are used by men under examination upon the rack, to ease and drive away their pain; touching which it is not worth while to spend any farther discourse. But as for the meaning of the impress on the other side of the coin, it is thus explained by a certain versifier, whose name is unknown, but he wrote in English rhyme in the time of Henry the Sixth, touching the conservation of the government of the sea:—

but to the King in his ship at the battle of Sluys; and, profane as was the comparison, the legend was singularly appropriate. The object of the French fleet was to prevent Edward from landing in Flanders, but he literally "passed through the midst of them," and "went his way," as our Saviour passed through the multitude which had assembled on the brow of the hill "to cast him down headlong."

Contracts with Genoa to furnish galleys.

Some curious facts are shewn by the contracts which were made between England and France with the States of Genoa for subsidies of galleys and mariners.

On the 8th of January 1373 an agreement was made by Edward the Third with Gregory Usdemer and Osbert Gay, Genoesé, that they should serve him in his war, with their two companions, gentlemen,[a] fifty crossbow-men, and fifty mariners, for one year, beginning on the day they should put to sea at Sluys and come towards England. The said Gregory and Osbert, constable, had each in his constablery one of the said two companions, and twenty-five cross-bow-men and twenty-five mariners under his command. Usdemer and Gay received twenty-five franks, each of their two companions fifteen franks, every crossbow-man ten franks, and each mariner seven franks a calendar month for their wages, which were to be paid in hand quarterly in advance. All castles,

"For foure things our noble shew-
eth to me,
King, ship, and sword, and power
of the sea."
* * * * *
"But King Edward made a siege
royall,
And wanne the town; and in spe-
ciall
The sea was kept, and thereof he
was lord.
Thus made he nobles coined of
record."
Mare Clausum, b. II. c. XXV.

[a] "ovesque deux leur compaignons gentils hommes."

towns, fortresses, ships, and other vessels that might be taken in war by them were to belong wholly to the King; but one half of all prisoners and merchandize was to go to the King, and the other half to Usdemer and Gay, and to those by whom they were captured. Of all things which might reasonably be considered pillage they were to have the whole. Usdemer and Gay were sworn to fulfil their engagement, and they, moreover, found security to do so. By their oath they bound themselves to do everything in their power to guard and promote the King's advantage and honour, and to defend and keep him from ill, injury, and dishonour.[a] Contracts with Genoa to furnish galleys.

In April 1335 five galleys were hired by the King of France, each of which had one hundred and sixteen oars, and proper sails, masts, anchors, rigging, armour, and rudders,[b] one hundred and fifty-four rowers, twelve crossbow-men, among whom were the patron or master, comitres, and an "escrivain."[c] Another contract was made between the King of France and Ayton d'Oria of Genoa, to provide forty galleys and two galiots for his war with England in October 1337, at the rate of nine hundred gold florins a month for each. Every galley had two hundred and ten men, consisting of the patron, two comitres, two escrivains, twenty-five crossbow-men, and one hundred and eighty mariners to pull the oars.[d]

Several instances occurred of ships having been Miscellaneous facts.

[a] Fœdera, III. 970.

[b] "amplustris." The plural indicates, in the opinion of Mons. Jal, that these galleys had a rudder on each side; but they may have had the modern rudder and a spare one.

[c] "et scribannarius," called in another contract "escrivain." Archéologie Navale, II. 326—333.

[d] Ibid. pp. 333—337.

Miscellaneous facts.

unlawfully captured by Edward the Third's subjects, as well as by the sailors of foreign States, which aggressions were made the subject of complaint to the Sovereigns of the respective malefactors.[a]

In 1357 the King of Portugal complained that some merchandize belonging to his subjects, in their ship called the "Saint Salvador," had been lately taken at sea by the French, and was afterwards captured by the English, the which goods had been adjudged by the Admiral to be lawful prize to the captors. This adjudication was, the King of Portugal said, contrary to the existing treaty; but Edward replied that the treaty merely provided that if any goods belonging to Portuguese subjects were taken in an enemy's vessel, they should be brought to England and restored to the owners, and did not apply in the present case, in which the goods, having been taken by the French and found in their possession, they must be considered to have passed entirely from the Portuguese to the French, and be therefore deemed to belong to the enemy; hence the claim ought, he said, to have been made on the French, by whom the depredation was committed.[b]

Some ships and barges, laden with enemy's property, having been taken at sea and carried to different ports, part of which belonged to the King, orders were issued, on the 15th of October 1373, to seize these articles, so that he might obtain his share.[c] A ship laden with property belonging to merchants of London having been captured by the French in June 1376 during the truce, and taken to Crotoye,

[a] Vide Fœdera, II. 761, 1226, 1227, 1229, 1232.
[b] Fœdera, III. 354. [c] Ibid. p. 991.

where she was unjustly detained, commands were issued to the sheriffs of London and to the bailiffs of Sandwich, Southampton, Weymouth, and Poole, to seize the goods of every Frenchman until restitution were made of the said ship and cargo.[a] Miscellaneous facts.

If the inhabitants of a sea-port fitted out and maintained a ship of war at their own expense, they were sometimes honoured with the King's special thanks, and with a promise of his favour,[b] and were exempted from the levy of soldiers.[c] When the owners of ships were too poor to fit out their vessels for the King's service, the inhabitants of the town to which they belonged were ordered to do so by contributions from each person.[d]

Mariners and fishermen were exempted from serving offices;[e] and in 1374 an order was sent to the collectors of the subsidy not to levy the tax of sixpence in the pound on fish caught at sea for home consumption.[f] When owners or masters of vessels disobeyed the King's commands, either by leaving any port during an arrest, or by not repairing to a given rendezvous by the time specified, a commission was issued to investigate the matter, and to punish the offenders with imprisonment for their neglect and contempt.[g]

In consequence of the deterioration of the Navy, the sheriffs of many counties were enjoined, in October 1340, to proclaim that no owner of a ship, or other person, should sell or give a ship to any fo-

[a] Fœdera, III. 1054.
[b] Rot. Scot. I. 338.
[c] Ibid. pp. 337, 338, 349, 369.
[d] Ibid. pp. 455, 456, 472.
[e] Rot. Pat. 31 Edw. III. pt. 2. m. 16.
[f] Fœdera, III. 1004.
[g] Rot. Scot. I. 451, 472; Fœdera, II. 1226.

Miscellaneous facts.

reigner, upon pain of forfeiting the vessel and his other property; and the sheriffs were to make a return, stating the number of ships in each port of their bailiwicks, and the names of their owners.[a] In 1336, and again in 1341 and 1343, the exportation of boards, wood, and timber fit for ship-building was strictly prohibited.[b]

It having been represented to the King by the merchants and other inhabitants of Dublin, that their port was so dangerous that large vessels laden with merchandize could not approach it, but were obliged to anchor at a distance of more than six leagues, and, as forestalling was forbidden, such vessels went to other and safer ports, entirely forsaking Dublin, he was pleased, on the 16th of June 1358, to allow the masters and mariners of such ships to sell their merchandize before it was landed, notwithstanding the law against forestalling.[c]

A riot in the north may be incidentally noticed, from its shewing the enormous value of whales and sturgeons. In May 1343 the Bishop of Durham, who had the right of wreck and of royal fish in his manor of Hoveden, complained that two whales and two sturgeons, worth three thousand pounds,[d] which had been driven on shore on his lands, were violently seized and carried off by some malefactors in the neighbourhood.[e]

Admirals.

Upwards of forty persons received the commission of ADMIRAL during the reign of King Edward the Third; but, as many of them held the office for a short

[a] Fœdera, II. 1138.
[b] Ibid. pp. 938, 1158, 1223.
[c] Ibid. III. 394.
[d] "duo cete et duos sturiones, pretii trium milium librarum."
[e] Fœdera, II. 1225.

time, and did not perform any remarkable service, there is not sufficient interest respecting all of them to justify an account of their career. For this reason the following biographical notices will be principally confined to such Admirals as were more than once appointed; or who led their ships in memorable actions; or who, from having commanded the three great fleets, may be considered to have been High Admirals, though that title was not actually ascribed to them.[a] Admirals.

SIR WILLIAM CLINTON.—This eminent person, who was a younger son of John Lord Clinton, passed the whole of his life in the service of his country. At the accession of Edward the Third he was a banneret, and in 1330 was made governor of Dover Castle and warden of the Cinque Ports; and was summoned to Parliament as a baron. In July 1333 he was appointed Admiral of the western fleet; and having soon after accompanied the King to Scotland, was present at the battle of Halidon Hill. On the 16th of March 1337 he was created Earl of Huntingdon; in the same year he was employed on a mission to the King of France to negotiate a peace, and was soon after sent to the Duke of Bavaria. The earl was intended to be appointed Admiral of the western fleet in 1340;[b] but no commission is recorded to have been issued to him in that year. He distinguished himself in the command of a ship at the battle of Sluys in June 1340, and was sent with the Earls of Arundel and Gloucester and Sir Thomas Trussell to announce the victory to Parliament.[c] In June 1341 he was again William Earl of Huntingdon.

[a] Except when other authorities are referred to, all the facts in these notices have been taken from the works cited at the end of each memoir.

[b] Vide p. 45, *ante*.

[c] Vide pp. 54, 64, *ante*.

William Earl of Huntingdon.

made Captain and Admiral of the western fleet;[a] he afterwards served in Flanders, Scotland, and France, and was often one of the King's ambassadors to foreign princes. The Earl of Huntingdon married, in 1329, Juliana, daughter and heiress of Thomas Lord Leyburne, and widow of John Lord Hastings of Bergavenny, but had no issue, and died on the 25th of August 1354.[b]

Sir John Howard.

SIR JOHN HOWARD was the ancestor of one of the most illustrious houses in England, which has produced more naval heroes than any other noble family. He was the son of Sir John Howard, by Joan, sister of Richard Cornwall, and was made Admiral of the northern fleet in April 1335, when 157*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* were assigned for the wages of himself and his men-at-arms. In 1345 he was sheriff of Suffolk; in March 1347 was again appointed Admiral of the northern fleet; and he served at the siege of Calais with a retinue of one banneret, six knights, thirty-six men-at-arms, and thirty-five mounted archers. Sir John Howard married Alice, daughter of Sir Robert Boys, and appears to have died soon after the accession of Edward the Third. His great-great-grandson, Sir John Howard, K.G., was created a baron in 1470, raised to the dukedom of Norfolk in 1483, and fell at Bosworth Field.[c]

Sir Robert Ufford, first Earl of Suffolk.

SIR ROBERT UFFORD was the eldest son of Robert first Lord Ufford, and succeeded his father in 1316, when he was eighteen years of age, but was not sum-

[a] Rot. Vascon. p. 104.

[b] Dugdale's Baronage, I. 530, 531. Collins's Peerage, (ed. 1779, II. 246,) on the authority of Barnes, (p. 451,) states that the Earl of Huntingdon was in the battle of "Espagnols sur Mer," but there is no contemporary evidence of the fact.

[c] Dugdale's Baronage, II. 265. Collins's Peerage, I. 55.

moned to Parliament until 1332. On the 14th of January 1337 he was made Admiral of the northern fleet jointly with John Lord Roos, and was created Earl of Suffolk in March following. He served in Flanders, where he was taken prisoner in 1340, in Brittany, and in France, and was also employed on several missions. His naval services in the defeat of the Genoese and Spanish squadron off Brittany in 1342, and at the battle of "L'Espagnols sur Mer" in 1350, have been already noticed;[a] and he is said to have greatly distinguished himself at Poictiers. In May 1344 the earl was made Admiral of the fleet to the north of the Thames; he was elected a Knight of the Garter about 1350; and died in November 1369. He was twice married, and had two sons, Sir Robert de Ufford, who died in his father's lifetime without issue, and William, his second son, who succeeded him in his honours, and to whom he bequeathed the sword with which the King had girded him on his creation to the earldom. William second Earl of Suffolk was made Admiral of the northern fleet in July 1376, but he held that office only a few months, and on his death in 1382 the earldom became extinct.[b]

Sir Robert Ufford, first Earl of Suffolk.

Few men in the fourteenth century were more distinguished than SIR WILLIAM MONTACUTE. He was the eldest son of William Lord Montacute, and was born about the year 1300. In 1319 he succeeded his father, and was summoned to Parliament as a baron from 1331, when he became of age, until 1336. Having on various occasions manifested his loyalty

William first Earl of Salisbury.

[a] Vide pp. 75, 104, *ante*.
[b] Dugdale's Baronage, II. 47, 48; Beltz's Memorials of the Order of the Garter, p. 99.

William first Earl of Salisbury.

and zeal, he was rewarded with many grants of land and offices. In 1334 he was constituted governor of Guernsey, Jersey, and the adjacent islands; and, having accompanied the King in his expedition to Scotland in 1335, Edward granted him, as a mark of especial favour, a crest of the eagle and a warhorse trapped with the arms of Montagu, together with the reversion of several manors.[a] He was soon after appointed constable of the Tower of London, and on the 14th of January 1337 was made Captain and Admiral of the western fleet. On the 16th of March in the same year he was created Earl of Salisbury, and in 1338 was appointed marshal of England, after which time he served in several armies abroad. According to Froissart, the Earl of Salisbury was in the expedition to Brittany in 1342, which defeated the Spaniards and Genoese galleys.[b] He married Katherine, daughter of William Lord Grandison, the lady of whom Edward the Third is said to have been enamoured, and whose name is identified with the institution of the Order of the Garter. Salisbury died in February 1343, of bruises received at some jousts at Windsor Castle, and was succeeded by his son

William second Earl of Salisbury.

WILLIAM SECOND EARL OF SALISBURY, who was then sixteen years of age, and who, like his father, served at sea against the enemy. At the time of his father's death he was only fifteen years old, and was knighted at La Hogue with the Prince of Wales in July 1346.[c] He was at the battle of Cressy and siege of Calais; and at the institution of the Order of the Garter, in

[a] "In eodem viagio Rex dedit domino Montagu *is crest with egle*, cum uno dextrario strato cum armis de Montagu." Knyghton, 2566.

[b] Vide p. 75, *ante*.

[c] Vide p. 89, *ante*.

1348, became one of the knights founders, the whole of whom he survived. The earl was with the King at "L'Espagnols sur Mer;" he commanded the rear of the English army at the battle of Poictiers, where he displayed great valour; and served in the expedition to France in 1359. In February 1373 he was appointed to the command of a squadron, and so much distinguished himself against the French on the coast of Brittany, that his services were particularly commended in the chancellor's speech to Parliament.[a] On the 16th of July 1376 he was made Admiral of the western fleet, but did not hold that office many months. The Earl of Salisbury, who styled himself "lord of the Isles of Man and Wight," was frequently employed in the wars of King Richard the Second in Scotland and France, and died without issue, at the age of sixty-nine, on the 3rd of June 1397. In early life he was contracted to marry Joan, daughter and heiress of Edmund Earl of Kent, called the "Fair Maid of Kent;" but a dispute arose on the subject, and she became the wife first of Sir Thomas Holand, and secondly of Edward the Black Prince, by whom she had King Richard the Second; and the Earl married Elizabeth, daughter and co-heiress of John Lord Mohun. His honours devolved upon his nephew John third Earl of Salisbury.[b]

William second Earl of Salisbury.

The name of SIR WALTER MANNY, the favourite hero of Froissart, and one of the brightest ornaments of chivalry, "whose memory the very worms dare not assault," is so familiar to every historical reader, that very few words need be said of him. Manny was

Sir Walter Manny, K.G.

[a] Vide pp. 150, 151, *ante*.

[b] Dugdale's Baronage, I. 648; Beltz's Memorials of the Order of the Garter, p. 36.

Sir Walter Manny, K.G.

a native of Valenciennes, and the son of a knight of Hainault, and attended Queen Philippa to England, where his merits soon brought him into notice. At an early period of his life he served in the wars of Scotland, when he acquired so much fame by his prowess and conduct, that he was made Captain and Admiral of the northern fleet in August 1337.[a] He was in the expedition against Cadsand,[b] at the battle of Sluys, where his ship was the fourth that became engaged,[c] and in 1342 commanded the expedition to Brittany, which is said to have fought a gallant action with a Spanish and Genoese squadron.[d] In 1347 he became a baron of the realm by a writ of summons to Parliament. His splendid military achievements, some of which have been incidentally noticed,[e] are matter of history; and it only belongs to this work to state that he was again appointed Admiral of the northern fleet in March 1348, and that he fought gallantly in the action of "L'Espagnols sur Mer" in 1350.[f] Towards the end of 1359 Sir Walter Manny was elected a Knight of the Garter; and, after a long career of glory, died on the 13th of January 1372. During the plague in 1349, Manny shewed that his benevolence was equal to his valour; for, great inconvenience having arisen from the want of space to inter those who fell victims to the disease, he purchased the ground now called Charter-House Square for that purpose, wherein fifty thousand persons are said to have been buried. On this spot Manny ordered a chapel to be built; and in 1371 he

[a] Vide p. 29, *ante*.
[b] Vide p. 30, *ante*.
[c] Vide p. 54, *ante*.
[d] Vide pp. 73—78, *ante*.
[e] Vide pp. 93, 96, 102, *ante*.
[f] Vide p. 104, *ante*.

founded a house there for Carthusian monks, in honour of God and of the salutation of our lady.[a] Sir Walter Manny, K.G.

He was buried in the monastery which his piety had founded, his obsequies being attended by the King, the princes of the blood royal, and by a long retinue of prelates, barons, and knights. Manny made a brilliant alliance, having married Margaret, daughter and heiress of Thomas Earl of Norfolk, a younger son of Edward the First, by whom he had two children, namely, a son who was accidentally drowned in a well at Deptford, and a daughter Ann, who became the second wife of John Earl of Pembroke.[b]

SIR ROBERT MORLEY.—None of Edward the Third's knights is more deserving of commemoration in a history of the Navy than this eminent soldier. He was the eldest son of William first Lord Morley, whom he must have succeeded before 1317,[c] as he was in that year summoned to Parliament; but he is not particularly noticed until after the accession of Edward the Third. In 1327, 1333, and 1336, he was in the wars in Scotland, and was one of the keepers of the peace and sea-coast of Norfolk in December 1338.[d] On the 18th of February 1339 he was appointed Admiral of the northern fleet; and in July he signalized himself by burning some towns and destroying eighty ships on the coast of Normandy.[e] When Edward meditated an expedition to Flanders, in March 1340, Morley was reappointed Admiral, Sir Robert Morley.

[a] Herne's "Domus Carthusiana," pp. 18—20.

[b] Beltz's Memorials of the Order of the Garter, pp. 110, 122.

[c] In 1332 Lord Morley was found to be the heir of Robert Montalt. Esch. 6 Edw. III. No. 69.

[d] Fœdera, II. 1067.

[e] Vide p. 42, *ante*.

Sir Robert Morley.

and his conference with the King on the subject has been already stated.[a] Shortly before the battle of Sluys he brought the northern fleet to the King,[b] and on the following day led them into action.[c] On the 5th of April 1341 he was again appointed Admiral of the northern fleet,[d] and soon afterwards served with a large retinue in the wars in France.

On the 26th of January 1343 the custos and council of England wrote the following letter to Lord Morley, in the King's name:—

"The King to his dear and faithful Robert de Morley, greeting.—Forasmuch as we hope, with the aid of God, to make a good, honourable, and final exploit in our war with France, if we be well reinforced by our own people of England; and the Earls of Arundel and Huntingdon and other 'grantz' have freely consented to come to us with great force, and it is agreed that the passage shall be made on the first day of March next at Portsmouth; wherefore, we pray you, especially for the love which you owe to us, that, considering the great need that we have of men, and the honour and profit which will proceed therefrom with the aid of God, you will furnish yourself with twenty men-at-arms, and be ready at the said port on the said first day of March to come to us in the company of the said earls and other 'grantz,' and come or send one of you to our council at London in the mean time, for your wages and the wages of your said men, to whom we will cause a quarter's payment to be made, in the manner we have done to others who come in the said fleet. And of that which you shall

[a] Vide p. 47, *ante*.
[b] Vide p. 48, *ante*.
[c] Vide p. 53, *ante*.
[d] Vide p. 42, *ante*.

do in this behalf, certify our said council fully at the octaves of the Purification of our Lady next to come, and exert yourself to comply with our request at this time; and so we hope in God that you will reasonably agree hereunto."[a] Sir Robert Morley.

On the 31st of March 1347 Morley was commanded to proceed to the King, then at the siege of Calais, with all possible despatch.[b] He was in the squadron which captured a French convoy off Crotoye in June 1347;[c] was for the fourth time made Admiral of the northern fleet on the 6th of June 1348;[d] and, as he was re-appointed to that office on the 22nd of July 1350, and was in the battle of "L'Espagnols sur Mer," it is extremely probable that he was Admiral of the King's fleet on that memorable occasion.[e] Lord Morley was one of the keepers of the coast of Norfolk and Suffolk in June 1352;[f] he was appointed constable of the Tower of London in 1355; and on the 5th of March in that year was for the sixth time made Admiral of the northern fleet, and held that office until his death.[g] Being in the great expedition to France in 1359, he died there on the 23rd of March 1360, while attending on the King, together with one of his sons.[h] In right of his first wife Hawyse, sister and heiress of Sir John le Marshal, by whom he left his eldest son William, third Lord Morley, he was marshal of Ireland.[i]

SIR WILLIAM TRUSSELL was the son of Sir Edmund Trussell, by Margaret, daughter of Walter de Oseville. Sir William Trussell.

[a] Fœdera, II. 1218.
[b] Ibid. III. 114, 120.
[c] Vide p. 97, *ante*.
[d] Fœdera, III. 162.
[e] Vide p. 103, *ante*.
[f] Fœdera, III. 245.
[g] Ibid. 412, 429, 472.
[h] Knyghton, col. 2624; Esch. 34 Edw. III. No. 81.
[i] Dugdale's Baronage, II. 26.

Sir William Trussell.

In 1315 and 1316 he was sheriff of the counties of Leicester and Warwick, and represented Northamptonshire in Parliament in 1318. As one of the adherents of Thomas Earl of Lancaster he was exiled, but came back to England with Queen Isabel and Prince Edward in 1326. He presided at the trial and pronounced sentence upon the younger Le Despencer; and, as procurator of the Commons, and on their behalf, he renounced their allegiance to Edward the Second, and offered homage to the young Prince Edward.[a] Having opposed Mortimer, he was compelled by the Queen to leave the realm; but, after the death of the favourite, he returned,[b] and in 1330 was one of the jury in Parliament at the trial of Thomas Lord Berkeley.[c] In 1333 he was made constable of Beaumaris Castle; he was appointed to treat with the commissioners of the King of France in 1334 for a truce; and in 1338 received one thousand pounds for his various services.

On the 18th of February 1339 Sir William Trussell was made Admiral of the western fleet;[d] and he so eminently distinguished himself at the battle of Sluys, that he was sent with the Earls of Huntingdon, Arundel, and Gloucester to communicate the event to Parliament;[e] and the Lords and Commons desired him to remind the King of the guard of the sea, and to acquaint him with the provision which had been made of ships, and with other matters relating to the Navy and to the Isles of Jersey and Guernsey.[f] In December 1342 he was again appointed Admiral of the western fleet,[g] and was summoned to a great

[a] Knyghton, col. 2548, 2549.
[b] Ibid. col. 2554, 2555.
[c] Rot. Parl. II. 57[b].
[d] Vide p. 39, *ante*.
[e] Vide pp. 64, 65, *ante;* Rot. Parl. II. 122.
[f] Rot. Parl. II. 121.
[g] Vide p. 83, *ante*.

council in that year. In April 1343 he communicated the assent of the Commons to the King and Lords in Parliament to the truce, and signified their wish that an embassy should be sent to treat for an honourable peace with France.[a] He was in the wars of France in 1343, and again in 1344; and on the 2nd of January 1345 was empowered to negotiate a marriage between the eldest son of the King of Castile and the Princess Joan.[b] In July 1345 Sir William Trussell was appointed one of the council of Prince Lionel during the King's absence abroad;[c] and on the 22nd of February 1347 was associated with the Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench, the mayor of London, and others, to try the Earls of Fife and Monteith,[d] which is the last time his name occurs. Sir William Trussell.

The time of his death has not been ascertained; and though it is certain that he did not, as has been supposed,[e] die in or before 1344, he probably died shortly after February 1347.[f] He had two sons, Sir Theobald Trussell and Sir Alured Trussell, both of whom left descendants.

RICHARD FITZALAN, NINTH EARL OF ARUNDEL, was the eldest son of Edmund eighth Earl of Arundel, who was attainted and beheaded in 1326. In 1330 he was restored to his father's honours. He was one of the commanders of the English army in the wars of Scotland in 1337 and 1338, when the King's ship, the "Saint Edward" of Sandwich, was ordered to convey stores to him; and about the same time he was made justice of North Wales, and was also governor Richard Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel.

[a] Rot. Parl. II. 136.
[b] Fœdera, III. pp. 26, 27, 46, 49.
[c] Ibid. p. 50.
[d] Ibid. p. 108.
[e] Ibid., and Dugdale's Baronage, II. 145, 146.
[f] Baker's History of Northamptonshire, p. 154.

Richard Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel.

of Porchester Castle. On the 20th of February 1340 the Earl of Arundel was appointed Admiral of the western fleet. He was in the battle of Sluys,[a] and was sent by the King to Parliament with the Earls of Huntingdon and Gloucester, to announce the victory.[b] In February 1345 he was again made Admiral of the western fleet; and few events occurred in which this distinguished personage did not take a conspicuous part. He was employed on an embassy in 1344 to the King of Castile, principally for the settlement of maritime affairs, and was sent on other missions. He was at Cressy in 1346, in the action of "L'Espagnols sur Mer" in 1350,[c] and proceeded with the King in his expedition for the relief of Thouars in 1372, when the ships were driven back by contrary winds.[d] The Earl of Arundel died on the 24th of January 1376, leaving by his countess, Eleanor, daughter of Henry Earl of Lancaster, his son Richard, who became the tenth Earl of Arundel,[e] and will be again mentioned.

Henry Earl of Derby, and Duke of Lancaster, K.G.

HENRY EARL OF DERBY, AND DUKE OF LANCASTER.—Though only once actually appointed Admiral of a fleet, this gallant prince signalized himself on so many occasions at sea, that it is proper that he should be included among the eminent Naval characters of his time. He was the only son of Henry Earl of Lancaster, son of Edmund Earl of Lancaster, a younger brother of King Edward the First, and was born at the castle of Grismont, in Monmouth-

[a] Vide pp. 48, 59, *ante.*

[b] Vide pp. 64, 65, *ante.*

[c] Vide p. 104, *ante.*

[d] Vide p. 147, *ante.*

[e] Dugdale's Baronage, I. 316—318.

shire, about the year 1312.[a] In 1329 he attended Edward the Third when that monarch did homage to the King of France at Amiens, and in 1336 was summoned to Parliament as a baron. He soon after served in the Scottish war, and in 1337 was made captain-general of the English army in Scotland. In that year he was created Earl of Derby, and his first service at sea appears to have been in the expedition to Cadsand,[b] where he was struck down by one of the enemy's soldiers, but was rescued by the promptitude and bravery of Sir Walter Manny. The occasions on which the Earl of Derby served in the field, and performed other important duties, are too numerous to be more than adverted to; and this sketch of his career must, therefore, be confined to the most remarkable events in his life. He was at the battle of Sluys in June 1340;[c] in the following year he was made lieutenant in Scotland; and in 1342 accompanied the King to Brittany. His father dying in 1345, he succeeded to the earldoms of Lancaster and Leicester, and to the stewardship of England; and, at the institution of the Order of the Garter, in 1348, was chosen into that noble fraternity. He was appointed lieutenant of Aquitaine in 1349; and, the dignity of Earl of Lincoln being added to his other honours, he united in his own person no less than four earldoms. In August 1350 he greatly distinguished himself at the battle of "L'Espagnols sur Mer," when he rescued the Black Prince's ship from imminent peril.[d] The earl was raised to the dukedom of Lancaster in March 1351, and

Henry Earl Derby, and Duke of Lancaster K.G.

[a] His exact age is nowhere stated; but he was probably about twenty-one in 1336, when he was first summoned to Parliament.

[b] Vide p. 30, *ante*.

[c] Vide p. 48, *ante*.

[d] Vide p. 108, *ante*.

Henry Earl of Derby, and Duke of Lancaster, K.G.

in the same month was appointed Captain and Admiral of the western fleet.[a] In the following year, during an expedition against the pagans of Lithuania, he became involved in a personal quarrel with the Duke of Brunswick, who challenged him, and Lancaster proceeded to meet his adversary at Guisnes. A day was assigned for the duel, but on entering the lists Brunswick shewed evident signs of trepidation; his face became pallid, and his arms nerveless, so that he could neither wield his sword or his lance, nor hold his shield; and the affair was amicably terminated through the arbitration of the King of France.

In July 1355 Lancaster served under the King in the squadron which sailed for Brittany to aid the King of Navarre, and the ships are said to have borne the duke's streamers,[b] though in March of that year he had been succeeded in the command of the western fleet by Sir John Beauchamp. During the campaign in France in 1359 and 1360 the Duke of Lancaster repeatedly signalized himself, and returned to England after the treaty of Bretigny; but he did not long survive the peace, as he died in his castle of Leicester, of the pestilence, on the 24th of March 1361. By his consort Isabel, daughter of Henry Lord Beaumont, he left two daughters, who were his co-heirs, of whom Maud died without issue, and Blanch having married John of Gaunt, the title of Duke of Lancaster was revived in his person, and descended to his son, King Henry the Fourth.[c]

[a] Vide p. 114, *ante*.

[b] Vide pp. 118, 119, *ante*.

[c] Dugdale's Baronage, i. 784—789; Beltz's Memorials of the Order of the Garter, pp. 19, 25.

Sir Reginald Cobham, K.G.

Sir Reginald Cobham was the son of Reginald de Cobham of Orkesden, in Eynsford in Kent, and was born in 1300. Like the Duke of Lancaster, he is first mentioned as having attended King Edward to Amiens in 1329; and, like Lancaster too, he died of the plague in 1361. Sir Reginald Cobham served in most of the military expeditions to Flanders and France. He was at Cadsand in 1337, and in the battle of Sluys in 1340;[a] at Cressy in 1346, when, fighting near the Prince of Wales, he was despatched to the King for assistance; at "L'Espagnols sur Mer" in 1350;[b] and at Poictiers in 1356, where he made Charles d'Artois, Count of Longueville, prisoner. He was summoned to Parliament as a baron from 1342 until 1360; was appointed Captain and Admiral of the western fleet in May 1344, and again in March 1348; was elected a Knight of the Garter in 1352; and, as has just been observed, died in the great pestilence on the 5th of October 1361. By his first wife Joan, daughter of Thomas Lord Berkeley, he had a son of his own name, who succeeded to his honours; but, though the second Lord Cobham left male descendants, they did not enjoy the dignity of the peerage.[c]

William Earl of Northampton.

William Earl of Northampton, one of the heroes of Sluys and "L'Espagnols sur Mer," is especially deserving of attention. He was a younger son of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, by the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of King Edward the First. On the 17th of March 1337, before he

[a] Vide pp. 48, 49, *ante*.

[b] Vide p. 104, *ante*.

[c] Dugdale's Baronage, II. 67, 68; Beltz's Memorials of the Order of the Garter, pp. 103, 105. It is remarkable that both these writers should have omitted to notice Lord Cobham's having been present at Sluys and "L'Espagnols sur Mer."

William Earl of Northampton.

had distinguished himself in any other manner than by having joined the confederacy against the minion Mortimer, he was created Earl of Northampton; and first served in the field at Vironfoss in 1339. At Sluys, in June 1340, his ship was the third that became engaged;[a] and thenceforward he took an active and distinguished part in every military expedition, as well as in many diplomatic affairs. In 1342 the Earl was made the King's lieutenant in Brittany; and there is reason to believe that he commanded the squadron which fought a gallant action with the Spaniards and Genoese in that year.[b] He commanded the second division of the army at Cressy; and, during the siege of Calais in 1347, embarked in some vessels and captured a large convoy near Crotoye.[c] In 1349 he succeeded to the first vacancy in the Order of the Garter, on the death of his nephew, Sir Hugh Courtenay; and was at the battle of "L'Espagnols sur Mer" in the ensuing year.[d] On the 8th of March 1351 he was appointed Admiral of the northern fleet; and during the last ten years of his life, Northampton's career, if less distinguished, was equally active and useful. He died on the 16th of September 1360, leaving, by Elizabeth, sister and co-heiress of Giles Lord Badlesmere, a son Humphrey, second Earl of Northampton, who succeeded his uncle in 1361 in the earldoms of Hereford and Essex and constableship of England. His two daughters and co-heiresses made splendid alliances: Eleanor, the eldest, having married Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, youngest son of King Edward the Third; and

[a] Vide p. 54, *ante*.
[b] Vide p. 78, *ante*.
[c] Vide p. 97, *ante*.
[d] Vide p. 104, *ante*.

Mary, the youngest daughter, was consort of Henry Earl of Derby, afterwards King Henry the Fourth.[a]

Sir John Beauchamp, K.G., was one of the most distinguished soldiers of his time, and he has a remarkable claim to a place in Naval history, from having been the first Admiral to whose command all the King's fleets were entrusted. He was the second son of Guy Earl of Warwick, by Alicia, sister and heiress of Sir Robert de Tony, and was born in 1314 or 1315.[b] His brother, Thomas Earl of Warwick, commanded a squadron of eighty ships in the Channel in 1347,[c] and was at the battle of "L'Espagnols sur Mer," in 1350.[d] Sir John Beauchamp's first essay in arms was in 1338, when he accompanied the King to Flanders. He was at Vironfoss in 1339, and shared in the honour and dangers of the battle of Sluys, in 1340.[e] At Cressy he bore the King's banner; he was present at the siege of Calais, and was made captain of that town in 1348. At the institution of the Order of the Garter, he was selected to be one of the founders, and was as eminent in jousts and tournaments as in the field. Sir John Beauchamp, K.G.

In August 1349 Sir John Beauchamp was appointed Admiral of a fleet for the protection of merchants and other persons going to Calais,[f] and was summoned to Parliament as a baron in the following year. He was made constable of the Tower of London in 1352, but was dismissed soon after in con-

[a] Dugdale's Baronage, II. 185.

[b] His brother Thomas, Earl of Warwick, was only two years old at the death of his father, in 1315. Sir John Beauchamp is frequently styled "de Warwick," to distinguish him from Sir John Beauchamp of Hache, in Somersetshire.

[c] Vide p. 96, *ante*.

[d] Vide p. 104, *ante*.

[e] Vide p. 59, *ante*.

[f] Vide p. 101, *ante*.

Sir John Beauchamp, K.G.

sequence of some unjust accusations. On the 5th of March 1355 he was appointed Admiral of the western fleet, but did not retain the office more than a year, and was then employed in the command of Calais and in the French wars. In 1360, the last year of his life, he was again made constable of the Tower, being also warden of the Cinque Ports, and constable of Dover Castle; and on the 18th of July received an extraordinary proof of his Sovereign's confidence, by being constituted Admiral of the King's southern, northern, and western fleets. Sir John Beauchamp only enjoyed these marks of favour a few months, as he died on the 2nd of December 1360.[a] He did not leave issue, and was apparently unmarried.

Sir Guy Bryan, K.G.

No name is more conspicuous in the general annals or in the Naval history of this period than that of SIR GUY BRYAN. He was born about 1310, and was the eldest son of a knight of the same name seated at Tor Bryan, in Devonshire. In July 1330, being then one of the King's valets, a dispute which had long existed between him and his father, who became insane, respecting the barony of Walwayne, in Pembrokeshire, was settled by his Sovereign in person. He served in the expedition to Flanders in 1339, and was probably knighted before May 1347, when, with many others, he was commanded to hasten to the King in France. In Edward's romantic feat of arms at Calais, in December 1349, Sir Guy Bryan bore the royal banner; and for his valour on that occasion was rewarded with a grant of two hundred marks a year. On the 25th of November 1350 he was summoned to Parliament as a baron, after which time

[a] Dugdale's Baronage, i. 231.

he was continually employed in the wars or in other situations that required ability and judgment. On the 1st of May 1356 he was appointed Admiral of the fleet to the westward of the Thames. He was in the army before Paris in 1360, and was one of the four barons who were sent to that city to swear to the observance of the treaty of Chartres; and, after the King's return to England, was made captain of Calais. In 1361 he was ambassador to the Pope. Towards the end of 1369 Bryan commanded a squadron against the French; and on the 6th of February 1370[a] was, for the second time, made Admiral of the western fleet. His long and arduous services were rewarded by the highest honours of chivalry on St. George's day 1370, when he was elected into the Order of the Garter, as the successor of the renowned Chandos. Sir Guy Bryan is stated to have commanded a squadron which defeated some Flemish ships, after a gallant action, in Bourneuf Bay, on the coast of Brittany, in 1371;[b] and at the meeting of Parliament in November 1372 he opened the session with a speech. After the accession of King Richard the Second, Bryan continued to be employed in the public service, chiefly, however, as a commissioner and on committees of Parliament. In 1386 he was examined in the controversy between Lord Scrope and Sir Robert Grosvenor respecting the right to their arms. He died on the 17th of August 1390, aged nearly ninety, leaving issue by Elizabeth, daughter of William Earl of Salisbury, and widow of the Lords Badlesmere and Despencer,

Sir Guy Bryan, K.G.

[a] He received a new commission on the 30th of May in the same year.

[b] Vide pp. 137—139, *ante*.

and was buried under a magnificent monument in Tewkesbury Abbey.[a]

John Earl of Pembroke.

JOHN HASTINGS, second EARL OF PEMBROKE.—The claim of this nobleman to a place in Naval history entirely rests upon the gallant defence of the squadron under his command against the Spaniards, by whom he was defeated and captured off Rochelle in 1372.

Lord Hastings was the son of Lawrence first Earl of Pembroke, who was in the battle of Sluys;[b] in the action which Froissart says was fought on the coast of Brittany in July 1342,[c] and was engaged with the ships that captured a convoy off Crotoye in June 1347;[d] and dying on the 30th of August 1348, left his son, the subject of this notice, little more than a year old.

John Earl of Pembroke, while a youth, was contracted to the Princess Margaret, youngest daughter of King Edward the Third; but she died soon after, if not before, their marriage, and in 1386 he married Anne, daughter of Sir Walter Manny, and does not appear to have been remarkable for his conjugal fidelity.[e] In 1369, being in his twenty-second year, he was elected a Knight of the Garter, and soon after accompanied the Earl of Cambridge to Aquitaine, where he made a spirited *chevauché*, but being surprised in the night by the French at Ruirenon, a desperate conflict took place, and the English were worsted. In 1371, Pembroke returned with the Black Prince to England. In April 1372 he was made lieutenant of Aquitaine, and in June in that year was, as has been already stated, defeated off Rochelle and taken prisoner.[f] One hundred

[a] Memoir in the Scrope and Grosvenor Roll, vol. II. pp. 245—255.
[b] Vide p. 59, *ante*.
[c] Vide p. 75, *ante*.
[d] Vide p. 97, *ante*.
[e] Vide p. 146, *ante*.
[f] Vide pp. 141—146, *ante*.

and twenty thousand franks were paid for the earl's ransom, but worn out by illness and the fatigue of a journey through France, he died at Arras on the 16th of April 1375. His only child, John third Earl of Pembroke, was slain at a tournament at Woodstock in 1389, when his line became extinct.[a] John Earl of Pembroke.

SIR ROBERT HERLE was the son of Sir William Herle,[b] the descendant of an ancient family in Northumberland, and a justice of the King's Bench. In 1345, and June 1346, he was in the retinue of the Earl of Warwick abroad.[c] On the 26th of September 1349, Sir Robert Herle, who was then lieutenant of Calais, was ordered to treat with the Count of Flanders;[d] and on the 9th of March 1350 he was made captain of Calais,[e] and held that situation for some time. In May 1350, and on many other occasions, he was one of the persons appointed to negotiate a peace with France;[f] and in November he was a commissioner to treat with the masters and mariners of some Spanish vessels.[g] He accompanied the King to Scotland in 1355, and witnessed the charter by which Edward Baliol granted that kingdom to Edward the Third in January 1356.[h] On the 8th of August 1358 Sir Robert Herle and John de Buckingham were constituted, jointly and severally, lieutenants and captains of Brittany.[i] On the 11th of July 1359 Herle was made captain of Brittany,[k] and in January Sir Robert Herle.

[a] Dugdale's Baronage, I. 577; Beltz's Memorials of the Order of the Garter, pp. 173—176.

[b] Esch. 13 Edw. III. (second numbers) No. 51.

[c] Fœdera, III. 49, 82.

[d] Ibid. p. 189.

[e] Ibid. p. 193. His indentures with the King, in 1351, are in the Fœdera, p. 222.

[f] Fœdera, III. 196, 197, 225, 232.

[g] Ibid. p. 210.

[h] Ibid. p. 317, 318, 319.

[i] Ibid. p. 404.

[k] Ibid. p. 431.

Sir Robert Herle.

1361 was appointed warden of the Cinque Ports, constable of Dover Castle, and Admiral of all the fleets of ships south, north, and west of the Thames.[a] He was present in February of that year, when the French hostages, who were to remain in England according to the treaty of Bretigny, were sworn.[b] By the designation of "Robert de Herle, constable of our castle of Dover, and Admiral on the sea," he was ordered, on the 24th of March, to treat on certain matters between the Duke of Brittany and Charles of Blois.[c] In April 1361 he was one of the justices assigned to hear and try causes in Kent, pursuant to an ordinance of Parliament.[d]

Sir Robert Herle died in or before July 1364,[e] and was succeeded in the wardenship of the Cinque Ports and command of the fleets by Sir Ralph Spigurnell.[f] He had no issue, and Ralph Hastings, his sister's son, was his heir.[g]

Sir Ralph Spigurnell.

Sir Ralph Spigurnell.—Nothing certain is known of the parentage of this person; but he was probably nearly related to Sir Henry Spigurnell, a justice of the King's Bench, and to Sir John Spigurnell of Buckinghamshire, who were living in the reign of Edward the Second and whose arms were then recorded.[h]

In April 1337 Ralph Spigurnell was in the retinue of the Bishop of Lincoln, who was sent with the Earls of Salisbury and Huntingdon to treat for a marriage

[a] Fœdera, III. 597.
[b] Ibid. p. 604.
[c] Ibid. p. 612.
[d] Ibid. p. 614.
[e] Esch. 38 Edw. III. No. 23.
[f] Fœdera, III. 741.
[g] Esch. 38 Edw. III. No. 23.
[h] A Roll of Arms compiled in the reign of Edward the Third states that "le Sire Spigurnell," no doubt the Admiral, bore gules fretté argent, on a chief or a lion passant gules, which were the same ensigns as were attributed to Sir Henry and Sir John Spigurnell, mentioned in the text. 8vo. 1828, pp. 30, 31; and 8vo. 1829, p. 22.

between the eldest son of the Count of Flanders and the Princess Joan;[a] and he appears to have been the "Ralph Pigornel, Knight," who was employed on a mission to the Pope in November 1344.[b] In December 1359 he was one of the justices appointed to try felonies in the counties of Hereford and Kent.[c] Sir Ralph Spigurnel

A dispute having arisen between Sir Denys de Morbek and an esquire of Gascony, both being claimants of the honour of having made King John of France prisoner at Poictiers, the question was to be decided by an appeal to arms; but Morbek having been taken ill, Sir Ralph Spigurnell, John de Buckingham, Dean of Lichfield, and others, were ordered by the King's council, in January 1360, to ascertain his condition. They reported, that on the 10th of that month they went to the house where Sir Denys was lodged, in a street near the church called Barking Chapel, and finding him lying in his bed very ill, as they were informed, Spigurnell said to him, "Sir Denys, you know how you were pursued by an appeal of one Bernard de Troie, esquire of Gascony, in the matter of the capture of the King of France in the battle of Poictiers; and as our Lord the King was then so occupied about his passage that he could not cause the appeal to be tried, a day was assigned you by the constable and marshal to be before him, wherever he might be, in France or England, at Candlemas next to come, to do and receive that which should be adjudged by our said Lord upon the said appeal, which day and place you then received and expressly accepted; wherefore we are sent to you on the part of the council, to know whe-

[a] Fœdera, II. 967, 1027. [b] Ibid. III. 25.
[c] Ibid. pp. 463, 464.

Sir Ralph Spigurnell.

ther you will and can perform that which you promised?" Sir Denys answered, that his desire had always been and still was to proceed to the King to perform his promise, and do his devoir in all things touching the said appeal, if his body would allow him, even though he should die on the journey, and thereupon he had made a protestation at Sandwich before the said constable and marshal, but he did not expect to be able to do so, unless God should send him better health, and visit him with His grace. And in order to know the truth, and to be sure that Sir Denys was not feigning, Spigurnell and his colleagues caused him to uncover his body, arms, hands, and feet, and they having been examined by Sir Ralph and others, as well as by the notaries, physicians, and surgeons, he was found to be so worn out, enfeebled, emaciated, and dried up by his disorder, that he could hardly recover without a miracle. The next day Sir Denys swore upon the Gospels, and Master John Paladyn, "mire,"[a] and John de Cornhill, surgeon, swore also, that he was so weak that he could not help himself, nor move foot, leg, arm, nor hand without assistance.[b]

On the 1st of May 1360 he and John de Buck-

[a] "*Mire, mirre, myre:* Chirurgien, médecin nonconsultant qui travailloit aussi de la main; les consultans se nommoient fisiciens, phisiciens." Roquefort, *in voce*.

[b] Fœdera, III. 467. The combat does not appear ever to have been fought, for, on the 1st of July 1361, Du Troie, being seriously ill, made the following declaration:—"I Bernard du Troy say before you all, in peril of my soul, and by the holy body of Jesus Christ, which is here consecrated before all, and which I purpose to receive for the salvation of my sinful soul, that on the day of the battle of Poictiers I took the King of France; and the said King surrendered himself to me and is my true prisoner, and no other but me hath any right in him of right or reason." He appointed proxies in case of his decease to pursue and follow up the quarrel. MSS. Cotton, Caligula D. III., printed in the appendix to the "Chronicle of London." Several other documents on the subject will be found in the Fœdera.

ingham were authorized to remove the King of France from Somerton Castle to Berkhampstead, in consequence of the fear of invasion;[a] and in October following, Spigurnell, with the Prince of Wales and many peers, was sworn to observe the treaty of Bretigny.[b] Sir Ralph Spigurnell.

The following notice of Sir Ralph Spigurnell shews that he was a knight of Edward the Third's household: The Earl of Salisbury, being examined in Parliament in 1377, after the accession of Richard the Second, whether he knew anything of Sir John Cobham's having granted his lands to the late King, said, that he was with the King at Sandwich in his household, and that there were then with the King the said Sir John Cobham and Sir Ralph Spigurnell, and he heard Sir Ralph say to the King, "Sire, you are greatly bounden to Sir John Cobham here present, for he has made you his heir;" and the King answered that so it was, and promised to be a good lord and good heir to the said Sir John: and he afterwards observed that Spigurnell was then one of the King's knights.[c]

On the 7th of July 1364 he was appointed Admiral of all the fleets of ships south, north, and west, warden of the Cinque Ports, and constable of Dover Castle.[d] He seems to have been superseded in the command of the fleet about 1369, and was succeeded in the wardenship of the Cinque Ports, between the 10th of May and 6th of July 1370, by Sir Richard de Penbrugge.[e] Sir Ralph Spigurnell died on the

[a] Fœdera, III. 470; vide p. 126, *ante*.
[b] Fœdera, III. 518, 531, 535.
[c] Rot. Parl. III. 8, 9.
[d] Fœdera, III. 741.
[e] Ibid. pp. 891—896.

13th of January 1373, and nothing is known of his marriage or issue.[a]

Sir Robert Ashton.

SIR ROBERT ASHTON'S name, though now scarcely remembered, was once very conspicuous, for few men ever filled a greater number of, or more various offices. Of his pedigree little is known, except that he was the son of Robert Ashton,[b] who apparently held lands in the counties of Dorset, Wilts, and Gloucester. In 1360, being then a knight, he was in the French wars.[c] He was made chancellor of Ireland in October 1364, and held that office until February 1367;[d] and on the 13th of March 1368 he was appointed keeper of Sandgate Castle, near Calais.[e] In April 1369,[f] and again in October 1371, Sir Robert Ashton was made Admiral of the western fleet.[g] From May 1372 to September 1373 he was justice of Ireland,[h] and became treasurer of the King's household in 1375.[i] Before January 1377 he was appointed the King's chamberlain, in which capacity he communicated a message from the King to Parliament respecting a dispute with the Holy See, "because words touching the Pope could not proceed from the mouth of a prelate."[k] In March 1377 he was ordered to assist in the defence of the Isle of Wight against the

[a] Esch. 46 Edw. III. No. 52, and second numbers, 68. The jury found, that he held the manors of Clifford and Glasebury, in Herefordshire, but were ignorant who were his heirs.

[b] Esch. 7 Ric. II. No. 5. He was probably the Robert Ashton to whose custody the forfeited lands of Lord Berkeley, in Gloucestershire, were entrusted in 1327. Fœdera, II. 692.

[c] Rot. Franc. p. 75.

[d] Fœdera, III. 752—822.

[e] Rot. Franc. p. 97.

[f] Vide p. 130, *ante*.

[g] Fœdera, III. 924; vide p. 137, *ante*.

[h] Ibid. pp. 942, 990.

[i] Rot. Patent. p. 192. He was still treasurer in October 1376. Fœdera, III. 1062; and King Edward the Third's will, in Nichols' Royal Wills, p. 59.

[k] Rot. Parl. II. 363.

French galleys.[a] He was one of Edward the Third's executors;[b] and, though removed from the household of Richard the Second, he nevertheless enjoyed the confidence of his ministers, by whom he was re-appointed to the command of Sandgate Castle, and made keeper of that of Guisnes.[c] In 1380 Ashton was constituted warden of the Cinque Ports and constable of Dover Castle for life;[d] and he was one of the ambassadors to treat for peace with France in 1379, 1380, and 1381.[e] In June 1383 he was appointed governor and captain of ships for the protection of the sea towards the north, which was his last employment.[f] Though married[g] he died without issue in 1383 or 1384. His heirs were his niece Margaret, wife of John Weston, the daughter of his father's sister Isabel, and his great-great-nephew John Tyant or Tarent;[h] and, as that person was then twenty-two years old, Sir Robert Ashton was probably very aged at his decease. Sir Robert Ashton.

Sir Robert Beaupel.

Sir Robert Beaupel was the descendant of an ancient and noble Norman family. His ancestor came into England with William the Conqueror,[i] and ob-

[a] Fœdera, III. 1073.

[b] Royal Wills, p. 59.

[c] Rot. Franc. pp. 122, 128.

[d] Calend. Rot. Patent. 4 Ric. II., p. 204. It appears, from some proceedings before the Privy Council in 1389, that Sir Robert Ashton was charged with having in 1381, while constable of Dover Castle, taken some wine for his own use out of a ship which had been captured at sea and brought into Sandwich. Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council, vol. I. p. 14d.

[e] Fœdera, III. 229, 248, 308.

[f] Rot. Franc. p. 143.

[g] Robert Ashton and Elizabeth his wife, 40 & 41 Edw. III. Calend. Inq. post Mortem, vol. II. pp. 276. 283.

[h] Esch. 7 Ric. II. No. 5. In September 1389 Sir William Tarent, executor of the will of Sir Robert Ashton, and Matthew de Gourney and Philippa his wife, co-executors of the said will, presented a petition to the King respecting some allowances that were due to Ashton while he was keeper of the sea towards the north. Roll "J. P. R. 2510."

[i] One branch of the family of Beaupel remained on the confines of Normandy and Brittany. Its representative having taken part in the

Sir Robert Beaupel.

tained large possessions in Devonshire. He was the son of a knight of the same name,[a] and is first mentioned in 1314, when, by the description of "Robert Beaupel, junior," he represented the county of Devon in Parliament.[b] In 1328 he was ordered, by the same designation, to make an inquiry respecting some treasure, which was said to have been hidden in the ground in Devonshire, with power to dig and remove the earth, being apparently his authority to search for minerals.[c] On the 4th of July 1333 he was a commissioner to array troops in that county for the defence of the coast against the Scots, according to the provisions of the Statute of Winchester;[d] and he was repeatedly commanded to perform similar duties between January 1335 and November 1336.[e] In June 1335 he was ordered to levy the subsidy in Devonshire for the payment of troops;[f] and on the 16th of February 1339 was directed to raise soldiers in Cornwall, to resist the expected invasion by the French.[g]

war of succession in Brittany, his property was confiscated in 1420. William Beaupel, who was sent to the King of England at Rouen, to treat on behalf of John of Brittany, Viscount of Limoges, followed that prince to Limousin, where he purchased the lands of Sainte Aulaire. His descendants, who have ever since inherited those possessions, added the name of SAINTE AULAIRE to that of BEAUPEL; and the present head of the house, the Comte de Sainte Aulaire, Peer of France, became as well known, as highly esteemed in this country, as ambassador from France, between the years 1841 and 1847.

[a] In 1300 Sir Robert Beaupel, probably the father of the Admiral, was one of the knights of the shire for the county of Devon. (Rot. Claus. 28 Edw. I. m. 12d.) In 1311 he was ordered to raise foot-soldiers in Devonshire, (Rot. Scot. I. 97,) and he was no doubt the "Sire Robert Beaupel" of Devonshire, who is said, in a Roll of Arms compiled between 1308 and 1314, to have borne "de goules, a les escalops de argent, e une bende de veer." 8vo. 1828, p. 15.

[b] Rot. Claus. 8 Edw. II. m. 31d.

[c] Abbr. Rot. Orig. I. 280.

[d] Rot. Scot. I. 249, 250.

[e] Fœdera, II. 901; Rot. Scot. I. 329, 360, 362, 373, 404, 406, 420, 422, 424, 460, 470.

[f] Fœdera, II. 911.

[g] Ibid. 1071.

On the 20th of December 1342, Sir Robert Beaupel was made Admiral of the King's fleet to the westward of the Thames;[a] and he appears to have held that office until May 1344, when Sir Reginald Cobham was appointed to the command of the western fleet. Several orders were issued to Beaupel to arrest ships, and on other matters connected with his duties as Admiral, in December 1342, and again in January and February 1343.[b] Sir Robert Beaupel.

In July 1345 he was one of the knights of Devonshire who were summoned to accompany the King to France, well equipped with horse and arms;[c] and in 1346 he obtained a license to assign part of his lands to support a chaplain.[d] As this is the last time his name has been found, he probably died soon after that year; but, from not having held his lands *in capite*, no inquisition was taken on his decease. He left a son, Sir Ralph Beaupel, whose only daughter and heiress, Margaret, married the valiant Sir Nele Loring, K.G.,[e] by whom she had two daughters, namely, Elizabeth the wife of Robert third Lord Harington, and Mary, who married Thomas Peyver.[f] The representation of Lady Harington having vested in Henry Duke of Suffolk, a descendant of Sir Robert Beaupel became, in the person of Lady Jane Grey, *de facto* Monarch of England.

[a] Rot. Franc. 16 Edw. III. m. 11.

[b] Rot. Franc. 16 Edw. III. m. 12, 13; Fœdera, II. 1218, 1219.

[c] Fœdera, III. 51.

[d] Rot. Orig. Abbr. II, 84.

[e] Vide p. 59, *ante*.

[f] Esch. 9 Ric. II. No. 32; Pole's Collections for Devonshire, 4to. 1791, pp. 412, 413.

CHAPTER IV.

ACCESSION OF RICHARD THE SECOND.—MEASURES TO RESIST INVASION.—RYE PLUNDERED AND BURNT.—FRENCH LAND IN THE ISLE OF WIGHT AND AT WINCHELSEA.—COMPLAINTS OF THE COMMONS RESPECTING THE NAVY.—CAPTURE OF SOME SPANISH SHIPS.—ATTACK ON PLACES IN NORMANDY.—ENGLISH SHIPS DEFEATED BY THE SPANIARDS.—PATRIOTISM OF A CITIZEN OF LONDON.—EXPEDITION TO BRITTANY.—PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS.—DEATH OF SIR JOHN CLARKE.—SHIPWRECK OF SIR JOHN ARUNDEL.—EXPEDITION TO PORTUGAL.—THE "FALCON" TAKEN.—BISHOP OF NORWICH'S CRUSADE.—MISCONDUCT OF THE ENGLISH FLEET.—BRAVERY OF SAILORS OF PORTSMOUTH AND DARTMOUTH.—FRENCH SHIPS TAKEN.—DUKE OF LANCASTER'S EXPEDITION TO SPAIN.—PREPARATIONS TO INVADE ENGLAND.—DEFENCE OF THE REALM.—THE CONSTABLE OF FRANCE'S SHIPS CAPTURED.—FRENCH EXPEDITION ABANDONED.—MURMURS IN ENGLAND.—FLEMISH FLEET TAKEN BY THE EARL OF ARUNDEL.—SIR HUGH DESPENSER MADE PRISONER.—PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS.—EXPEDITION TO BRITTANY AND GUIENNE.—PEACE WITH FRANCE.—EXPEDITION TO TUNIS.—DEPOSITION OF RICHARD THE SECOND.

A. D. 1377. A VIGOROUS government, large fleets, and the resources of this country were never more needed than at the accession of King Richard the Second; but rarely, if ever, was the condition of England more deplorable. The monarch was a child under eleven years of age; his councils were disturbed by personal animosities; his treasury was completely exhausted; the English Navy was almost annihilated; hostilities were about to re-commence in Scotland; and his powerful enemy the King of France, having renewed the war, was preparing a large expedition to invade the realm. Though the government was aware of the danger, and adopted some measures to meet it, preparations for the King's coronation seem to have occu-

pied as great, if not a greater, share of attention, be- A. D. 1377.
cause it was deemed absolutely necessary that a new sovereign should be crowned immediately after his accession.

On the 30th of June the people of Kent were June.
informed that the French and their adherents were forming a large armament of troops and ships for the purpose of landing in England, and they were commanded to afford every aid in their power to the King's uncle, the Earl of Cambridge, who had been made constable of Dover Castle, to the Lords Latimer, Cobham, and Clinton, and to Sir Stephen de Valence, in defending that county.[a] Similar orders were issued to persons of all ranks in Dorsetshire and Hampshire, to assist the Earl of Salisbury and for the defence of the coast of Wales;[b] the inhabitants of Grimsby, Kingston-upon-Hull, Folkestone, and other towns, were told to provide for the protection of those places;[c] and prayers were directed to be offered up for the success of the King's efforts against the enemy.[d] For the safety of ships in all the ports at the mouth of the Thames, beacons were erected, the keepers of which were enjoined to set them on fire as soon as they saw an enemy's vessel approach, "with sail or oars," and to make all the noise in their power, with horns and cries, on hearing which every man was bound to hasten to the spot in his best armour;[e] but the urgent representations of the Commons in Parliament[f] prove that the English had no longer a navy fit to cope with an enemy at sea.

[a] Fœdera, VII. 154.
[b] Ibid. pp. 155, 163.
[c] Rot. Patent. 1 Ric. II. p. 1. m. 3. d.
[d] Fœdera, VII. 154.
[e] Ibid. p. 156.
[f] Vide pp. 264, 265, 274, 287, *post*.

A. D. 1377. The French ships, commanded by Sir John de Vienne, were reinforced by many Spanish vessels under Sir John de Raix, but their exact force, either in ships or men, is not stated. July. On the 6th of July the French landed at Rye, and, after plundering and burning the town, re-embarked, and proceeded off Southampton, but did not then go on shore.[a] When the news of the depredations at Rye reached London, the people were struck with astonishment, and exclaimed "We must make haste to crown our King, and then go against the French, or they will do us great injury."[b] The coronation took place on the 16th of July, and on the 25th the clergy in both provinces were ordered to be arrayed to assist in the defence of the coast, every man in the realm between sixteen and sixty having been previously commanded to take arms for that purpose.[c] August. On the 15th of August, the Prior of St. John's of Jerusalem was reappointed to the command of the western fleet, Sir Michael de la Pole being at the same time made Admiral of the northern fleet;[d] and two days afterwards, ships, barges, and every other vessel except fishing-boats, were strictly prohibited from leaving their ports until further orders.[e]

On the 21st of August the French landed, without any opposition, in the Isle of Wight,[f] the inhabitants

[a] It appears that some of the inhabitants of Rye were drawn and hung for not having defended their town. Vide Rot. Parl. III. 70.

[b] Froissart, I. 710.

[c] Fœdera, VII. 162.

[d] Ibid. p. 171.

[e] Rot. Patent, 1 Ric. II. m. 38.d. Payments were made of the wages and "rewards" (the latter being sixpence a week to each sailor) of the crews of eighty-nine vessels for fourteen days, namely, from the 19th of July to the 1st of August 1377. Addit. MSS. 4591, art. 19, from the Pell Rolls.

[f] It would appear that the French ships were driven to the island by a storm;—"Revera Gallici ad insulam tempestate pulsi temptaverunt irrumpere insulam prædictam."

having, it is said, intended to allow part of the enemy to reach the shore, and then, by attacking them, deter the remainder; but, if such were their design, it completely failed, for the French rushed upon them in such numbers that they took to flight. After ravaging the island, the enemy came before the castle, expecting that it would surrender; but they found in Sir Hugh Tyrrel, the governor, a "spur of incredible sharpness,"[a] who boldly encountered them, made great slaughter, and forced them to raise the siege. Not thinking it prudent to remain near such a "serpent," the French quitted the island with their plunder, having first extorted a thousand marks from the people, to save their houses from being burnt; and they were compelled to swear that they would not act hostilely against them for one year, if they should return within that time. The enemy then proceeded to Winchelsea, and having learnt that the Abbot of Battle[b] had arrived there for its defence, they proposed to him to ransom the town; but the courageous priest said "he would not buy what he had not lost." Irritated by this answer, the French invited the abbot, if he wished to fight, to allow part of his soldiers to meet an equal number of theirs; but he declined, saying, that, as he was a churchman, he could not accept such a proposal, and that he did not come there for the sake of war, but to preserve the peace of the country. The French then attacked the town, and fought from noon to vespers, but without success. During the assault they despatched part of their ships to Hastings, whence the Abbot of Battle had probably

A. D. 137[illegible] August.

[a] "incredibilis asperitatis stimulum."

[b] Hamon de Offyngton was Abbot of Battle from 1364 to 1383. Dugdale's Monasticon, ed. Ellis, vol. III. p. 235.

A. D. 1377. drawn most of the inhabitants for the defence of Winchelsea; and finding it nearly empty they set fire to the place. Winchelsea was, however, so gallantly defended, that they were obliged to retire;[a] but the French still kept hovering off the coast, and on the September. 4th of September the clergy were again desired to implore heavenly aid against the enemy.[b]

There is some discrepancy between the account given of the proceedings of the French fleet by Froissart, and that given by Walsingham and other English writers. After stating that Southampton was so well garrisoned by Sir John Arundel, brother of the Earl of Arundel,[c] that they could not attack it, Froissart says that the enemy landed in the Isle of Wight, burnt and pillaged the towns of Yarmouth, Dartmouth, Plymouth, and Winchelsea, carrying off much booty and many prisoners; that they anchored off Southampton, but were driven away by Sir John Arundel; and that, while coasting along shore towards Dover, they intended to land at "Pesk," probably Pool, in Dorsetshire, but were deterred on seeing troops under the Earl of Salisbury and Sir John Montagu drawn up to receive them, which force likewise prevented them from disembarking at other places: and he adds, that they then came off a sea-port where there was a large priory, called Lewes.[d]

Walsingham takes no notice of any of these proceedings, except of those in the Isle of Wight and at Winchelsea, until the enemy came upon the coast of

[a] Walsingham, p. 197; Otterbourne, p. 148; Monk of Evesham, p. 2. Knyghton does not notice any naval transaction before 1386.

[b] Fœdera, VII. 173.

[c] Walsingham, p. 197.

[d] Froissart, I. 711.

Sussex. Without mentioning the precise time, but merely saying it was in the same year that they had attacked Winchelsea, he relates that a squadron consisting of thirty-seven galleys, eight Spanish cogs, and seven barges, landed their crews at Rottingdean, and were gallantly[a] opposed by the prior of Lewes;[b] but, after an unequal conflict, the enemy being very superior in numbers,[c] in which about one hundred of the English fell, the prior was taken prisoner, and, together with two knights, Sir Thomas Cheney and Sir Thomas Falvesley, and an esquire called John Brocas, was carried off to the ships;[d] and the enemy burnt and ravaged the neighbouring villages. A. D. 1377. September.

The allied squadron then went to Dovor, but, as the place was well defended by the Earl of Cambridge, they did not think it prudent to attack it, and made sail for Calais. After lying off that harbour for seven days, a foul wind and bad weather obliged them to weigh without having made any attempt against the town, though the garrison and the

[a] An esquire, a native of France, who had long been in the prior's service, fought with such valour, that, though so desperately wounded in the stomach that his entrails fell to the ground, he nevertheless pursued the enemy, dragging his bowels after him for a considerable space, and then leaving them behind him.

[b] The Monk of Evesham (p. 3) says the prior was a Frenchman by birth, the abbot and convent of Clugni having nominated the Priors of Lewes. John de Cariloco, or Cherlieu, held that office from 1364 to 1393. Dugdale's Monasticon, vol. v. p. 4.

[c] Froissart says, "ils n'etoient que un petit au regard des François;" and Walsingham states that the prior had only a small force,—"cum parvâ manu."

[d] Walsingham, pp. 197, 198; Monk of Evesham, p. 3. Froissart (t. 711) says that the French heard for the first time from their prisoners of the death of Edward the Third, and of the accession of Richard, that the Admiral, Sir John de Vienne, sent a knight and three esquires, in a large Spanish barge, to Crotoye, with the intelligence, who took horse in that place for Paris; but it is scarcely credible, however strictly the ports may have been guarded, that such important events should not have been known in France for more than two months after they took place.

A. D. 1377. people of England fully expected that it would have been besieged. The enemy soon after arrived at Harfleur, and laid up their ships for the season.[a] The French navy in this year consisted of eight cogs and thirty-seven galleys, besides their Spanish allies, and cost one thousand marks a day from Easter to Michaelmas.[b]

October. Parliament met on the 3rd of October, and the next day the Archbishop of Canterbury, the chancellor, stated that the principal cause of its assembling was the late invasion of the enemy, and the necessity of providing for the safety of the realm.[c] The Commons, by their first speaker, Sir Peter de la Mare, submitted a long catalogue of grievances, the principal of which were the depressed state of chivalry in England, which they attributed to its being then held in contempt; to property, which had been nobly gained from the enemy in war, having been unjustly seized; to knightly and all other virtues being ridiculed, and vice honoured and advanced, so that no man had then any inducement to act well, "whence the kingdom had, they said, lately suffered great infamy and outrage from the enemy in different parts, and would probably suffer more unless God provided a remedy in its government." The Commons then said, that, when the merchants of the kingdom were the lords and masters, and had the disposition and management of their own ships, the navy was great and plentiful, that more good ships belonged to one town than were then in

[a] Froissart, i. 712.

[b] Walsingham, p. 200.

[c] Rot. Parl. III. 3. The archbishop told the Lords and Commons, "Rex tuus venit tibi;" and added, "Seigneurs et sires, the words which I have uttered, to say in French, are

'Vostre Roy
Vient a toy.'"

the whole realm; and, as their Sovereign was of tender age, they prayed the King and the Lords of Parliament, for the correction of the said evils, as well as for the salvation of the kingdom, which was in greater peril than it had ever before been, to consent to the three measures which they proposed.[a] The Commons afterwards renewed the request which had been often before made,[b] that ships should not be forfeited as deodands in case any of their crews were accidentally drowned; and they were told that the King would relieve all special complaints, "saving always his regality." To their petition, that, inasmuch as great mischief had, from divers causes, befallen the navy, the King would be pleased to consult those persons who knew most on the subject, with a view of providing a remedy, he replied that he would do what his great council considered best.[c] A. D. 1377. October.

Intelligence having arrived that many Spanish ships were wind-bound at Sluys, no time was lost in fitting out an expedition to retaliate upon them the injuries which they had done to England, by assisting the French in their depredations in the preceding summer. The King's uncle, Thomas of Woodstock, then Earl of Buckingham, the Duke of Brittany, the Lords Latimer and Fitzwalter, and Sir Robert Knollys, embarked about the 8th of November, and put to sea; but a heavy gale of wind came on during the night of the 11th,[d] in which the ships, running foul of each other, lost their masts and split their sails. Many of the smaller vessels foundered, and their crews took November.

[a] Rot. Parl. III. 5, 6.
[b] Vide p. 217, *ante*.
[c] Rot. Parl. III. 24, 25.
[d] "in nocte Sancti Martini," Evesham, p. 4. Walsingham does not give the date.

A. D. 1377. refuge in the larger ships. The squadron at length succeeded in returning to port, and having refitted, again put to sea.[a]

Ill-fortune continued to attend the expedition, not so much, however, from the inclemency of the weather, as from the dissensions, if not, as Walsingham expressly says, defection and perfidy,[b] of the commanders. It appears that the Spaniards had in the meantime quitted Sluys and arrived at Brest, where the English found them; and that, when the Earl of Buckingham was about to lead his division against the enemy, the sailors under Lord Fitzwalter not only refused to support him, but, from some unaccountable cause, attacked the earl so furiously, that he would have lost his life, had not the Earl of Kent come to his assistance in a balinger. Thus supported, Buckingham captured eight ships; and many more would probably have been taken, had not part of the seamen behaved in a cowardly manner. The ships returned to England soon after Christmas;[c] and the chronicler, who finds in every discomfiture an especial mark of the Divine wrath, ascribes the failure of the expedition to the sailors having taken public women to sea with them, and to their general immorality.[d]

A gallant action redeemed, to some extent, these disgraceful proceedings. Sir Thomas Percy, brother of the Earl of Northumberland, who had accompanied the squadron, was obliged to remain in England when

[a] Walsingham, p. 199.

[b] "non tantum tempestatibus quantum perfidia defectionis suorum," p. 209.

[c] The accounts of wages and other expences for the Earl of Buckingham's two voyages in the 1st and 2nd Ric. II. are on the Roll "T. G. 1911."

[d] "Quod non solum publicas meretrices ausi sunt secum ad marina bella traducere, sed et comprovincialium conjuges adulteri et incesti," p. 210.

it sailed the second time to repair his ship; and, as soon as it was ready, he put to sea, accompanied by two barges and some smaller vessels. Falling in with fifty ships, partly Flemish and partly Spanish, laden with merchandize belonging to the French, he desired the Flemings to separate themselves from their allies, England being at peace with Flanders. This, however, they refused to do, and Percy instantly attacked the whole convoy. Awed by his courage, and thinking that he would be reinforced, they offered little resistance; and twenty-two ships having surrendered, he returned with his prizes to port.[a] Another exploit had been performed not long before. Sir Hugh Calveley, captain of Calais, attacked Boulogne, and finding a barge called the "Town of Aden," and another barge belonging to the King of France, together with twenty-six smaller vessels in the port, he set them and the suburbs of the town on fire. Calveley's next acts shew how singularly devotion and cruelty were then blended in the most chivalrous characters. He caused mass to be said by his own chaplain, and having heard it to the end, he gave up some part of the town to pillage, carrying off whatever he thought desirable.[b] On the 30th of November most of the cities and towns in the kingdom were commanded to provide a barge called a balinger for the defence of the realm;[c] and on the 5th of December, Thomas Earl of Warwick was made Admiral of the northern, and Richard Earl of Arundel Admiral of the western fleet.[d]

A. D. 1377.

November.

December.

The year 1378 was marked by several Naval proceedings. About January, the sailors of Rye and

A. D. 1378.

January.

[a] Walsingham, p. 209.
[b] Walsingham, p. 199.
[c] Rot. Fr. 1 Ric. II. p. 1. m. 9.
[d] Rot. Patent. 1 Ric. II. m. 22.

A. D. 1378. January. Winchelsea, remembering the injuries which had been inflicted upon them by the French, embarked in their barges and landed at a place called Peter's Port,[a] in Normandy, slew many of the inhabitants, made prisoners of those who could not ransom themselves, sacked the town, spoiled the houses and churches, from which they carried off the bells, and set the whole town in flames, "in all things measuring to them with the like measure as they had done at Rye." After committing similar havoc at Vilet, they returned home with a rich booty.[b]

At the request of the Duke of Lancaster, who had undertaken to free England from all enemies within a year, he was allowed to dispose of the money which had been granted by Parliament for the defence of the realm. A fleet[c] and army were placed under his command, and the troops were to embark for Brittany on the 1st of March;[d] but, that the sea-coast might not be left unprotected, nine ships were hired from Bayonne,[e] to strengthen the navy. This force was, however, wholly inadequate to the purpose, and such were the apprehensions of invasion, that, though commissioners had been appointed on the 16th of January to negotiate a truce with France,[f] yet on the February. 20th of February instructions were issued to fortify so inland a city as Oxford, lest the French should again March. invade England;[g] and on the 16th of March a general

[a] "Portus Petri" and "Wilet." The position of these places has not been ascertained.

[b] Walsingham, p. 211.

[c] Ships and barges were impressed in February 1378. Rot. Franc. p. 123.

[d] Letters of protection were granted to numerous persons who were about to serve "on the sea," under the Duke of Lancaster, on the 4th of March 1378. Fœdera, VII. 186.

[e] Walsingham, p. 211.

[f] Fœdera, VII. 184.

[g] Ibid. p. 185.

array of soldiers was made in the Isle of Thanet to prevent the enemy from landing there.[a] Various stores, including "two large and two smaller engines called cannon," and "six hundred stones for those and for other engines," together with saltpetre, sulphur, and charcoal, were purchased for the castle of Brest,[b] which was transferred to the King by the Duke of Brittany during the war with France;[c] and a ship called the "Alice," which had belonged to Edward the Third, was assigned to Sir Richard Abberbury for the defence of that fortress.[d] The royal jewels, consisting of three gold crowns, a nouch, the "palet of Spain," and other articles, were pawned to raise 10,000*l.* for the expence of the expedition.[e] A. D. 1378. March.

The auxiliary Bayonnese ships soon distinguished themselves by attacking the Spanish fleet; and after a smart engagement they captured fourteen vessels laden with wine and other goods, which they brought into an English port, having given Sir Robert Knollys, governor of Brest, as the first-fruits of their spoil, a hundred tons of the best wine,[f] whence it may be inferred that the affair took place off the coast of Brittany.

These preparations alarmed Henry the bastard of Spain, who feared that the Duke of Lancaster was about to maintain his pretensions to the Spanish crown, in right of his consort Constance, the eldest daughter and co-heiress of Peter King of Castile and Leon. Henry therefore fitted out a fleet to resist such an attempt; and the commanders of the English

[a] Rot. Patent. 1 Ric. II. p. 4. m. 31. d.
[b] Fœdera, VII. 187.
[c] Ibid. p. 190.
[d] Ibid. pp. 187, 194.
[e] Ibid. p. 188.
[f] Walsingham, p. 211.

A. D. 1378. ships, who were waiting for the Duke, tired of remaining idle in harbour, put to sea, and a few days afterwards met the Spaniards. A mutual desire for plunder, rather than military ardour, brought on an engagement, in which the English were completely defeated; and among the persons who were taken prisoners was Sir Hugh Courtenay,[a] son of the Earl of Devon. A different and rather fuller account of this action is given by another writer, who states that two brothers, Sir Philip and Sir Peter Courtenay, whose ships contained many of the young esquires of Devon and Somerset, while imprudently attacking the small ships of the enemy, were suddenly assailed by a large Spanish fleet; that, unable to cope with such unequal force, Sir Philip, after losing many men and being himself severely wounded, made his escape; but that his brother Sir Peter, being surrounded by the enemy's ships, was, with a few other knights, after a valiant defence, captured and carried off.[b]

An event soon after occurred, which led to a manifestation of generous patriotism in a citizen of London, which is not without a parallel in modern times. One John Mercer, a Scotchman, to revenge the imprisonment of his father, a crafty and able person, who had rendered much service to the King of France by his advice in matters relating to England, collected a host of French, Scots, and Spaniards, and attacked and captured several ships from Scarborough, slaying their commanders and putting the crews in chains. Elated by his success, Mercer threatened to repeat his proceedings against this country; but a wealthy citizen of London, called John Philpott, hired at his

[a] Walsingham, p. 211. [b] Evesham, p. 6.

own cost a thousand armed men and a number of A. D. 1378.
ships, and, proceeding to the north, not only recaptured the vessels that had been taken at Scarborough, but took also fifteen Spanish ships laden with wine, that had gone to Mercer's assistance. Instead of being rewarded by his Sovereign, Philpott's noble conduct excited the jealousy of the peers, and he was told by the Council that he had acted illegally in sending an armament to sea without their consent; "as if," says Walsingham, "it were not lawful to benefit the realm without the approbation of the earls and barons." To the reproaches of the Earl of Stafford, the sturdy citizen indignantly replied, "I did not expose myself, my money, and my men to the dangers of the sea, that I might deprive you or your colleagues of your knightly fame, nor to acquire it for myself; but, from pity for the misery of the people and the country, which, from having been a noble realm with dominion over other nations, has, through your supineness, become exposed to the ravages of the vilest race; and since you would not lift a hand for its defence, I exposed myself and my property for the safety and deliverance of our country." To this taunting speech the earl "had not a word to answer."[a]

The Duke of Lancaster, upon whose actions Walsingham always puts the most unfavourable construction, "being," he says, "unwilling to try his fortune at sea, still remained in England;" but he persuaded the Earls of Salisbury and Arundel to sail in search

[a] Walsingham, p. 213; Evesham, p. 6. It would seem from this speech that Philpott went in person against Mercer. He was one of the principal merchants who advanced 10,000*l.* on the crown jewels (vide p. 269, *ante*), was mayor of London in 1377 and 1378, and distinguished himself by many other patriotic acts.

A. D. 1378. of the enemy, and they announced, on their return, that the expedition might proceed in safety. Salisbury did not, however, content himself with looking for the French fleet, but he induced the inhabitants of Cherbourg to place that town in the King's hands, who soon after sent troops to garrison it.[a]

June. About Midsummer the Duke of Lancaster left Southampton, with four thousand men-at-arms and eight thousand archers, for Normandy, and finding the Earl of Salisbury and Sir John Arundel at Plymouth waiting for a wind to go to the relief of Brest and Hennebon, he took them under his command, and returned to the Isle of Wight, where he remained some time for information respecting the state of France; but news having arrived that the French fleet had sailed, Arundel was sent with some troops to defend Southampton. The Duke of Lancaster proceeded to sea as soon as the wind became fair, the Earl of Salisbury being admiral of his squadron,[b] and ran along the coast of Normandy without knowing where he should land, as it was his object to find the French fleet. Hearing that the enemy were off Cherbourg, Lancaster hastened to that port, but Sir John de Vienne had retired to Harfleur, and the duke, taking advantage of the wind, went to St. Maloes, landed his troops, and laid siege to the town.[c] Many vessels belonging to Rochelle were then lying there, laden with wine, which was sold and the vessels burnt.[d]

[a] Walsingham, p. 213. Froissart (I. 718) says that Sir Robert Roos was sent to garrison Cherbourg, but he does not mention the Earl of Salisbury's proceedings. See also Froissart, II. 26, 27.

[b] His appointment is not on record.

[c] Froissart, II. 30; Evesham, p. 7.

[d] Froissart, II. 31.

As soon as Sir John Arundel heard from some prisoners, who had been captured in a ship off Normandy, that the French had gone into port, he fitted out four large ships and other vessels, and joined his companions at Cherbourg.[a] About this time some Spanish galleys landed in Cornwall, and not meeting with the least resistance, pillaged and set fire to Fowey and other seaport towns.[b] On the 12th of August Sir Theobald Gorges and two other persons were appointed keepers of the coast of the Isle of Wight, and to array the men-at-arms for its defence.[c] The Duke of Lancaster's army, after lying before St. Maloes for some time, was compelled on the approach of winter to raise the siege, and the expedition returned to Southampton.[d] A. D. 1378. August.

The dangers to which the country was exposed formed the first object of attention in Parliament in October 1378. Sir Richard Scrope, steward of the household, stated, in a long speech, by command of the King, that the realm of England and his other territories were every where beset and surrounded by enemies, who increased daily as well in Scotland as elsewhere; that such heavy expences had been incurred at Calais, Brest, Cherbourg, Bordeaux, Bayonne, and also in Guienne and Ireland, as well as for the defence of the sea-coast, that the subsidy granted by the last Parliament was spent, and another aid was demanded to carry on the war.[e] The Commons pleaded that they had never before been in such poverty, which had, they said, partly arisen from the last tax, October.

[a] Froissart, II. 31, 40.

[b] Walsingham, p. 215. See the next page.

[c] Rot. Franc. p. 127.

[d] Walsingham, p. 215; Froissart, II. 40.

[e] Rot. Parl. III. 34.

A. D. 1378. October. partly from a murrain of their cattle, and partly from the burnings of the enemy on the sea-coasts.[a] A petition was presented from the people of Cornwall, complaining that the sailors who formed a great part of the force which protected their shores against the enemy, had been impressed to serve in the King's expedition, that some Spanish galleys had lately burnt all the ships, boats, and towns near the ports and coast of that county, and had, moreover, demanded heavy ransoms from many of the inhabitants, who were unable to defend themselves; and that the enemy threatened to renew their attacks.[b]

The condition of the Navy was then made the subject of a forcible remonstrance: "Also pray the Commons, that, whereas in times past the land of England was so well furnished with a navy, as well large ships as small, that the country had been thereby greatly enriched, and surrounding nations greatly intimidated, but since the beginning of the war with France the navy had been so often seized for expeditions to France and elsewhere, that the owners of the ships had suffered such heavy losses and expences, as well in ships and boats, as in the waste of masts, triefs, anchors, cables, and other stores, without receiving any compensation from the King or the realm, that many of them were utterly ruined, and the navy almost destroyed throughout England, to the great damage of the King, the complete impoverishment of the owners of the ships, and to the great satisfaction[c] of all the

[a] Rot. Parl. III. 35.

[b] Ibid. II. 42.

[c] "abaudicement." Roquefort has only "abaudi," which he renders "tout etonné, surpris, effrayé, faché;" but the decay of the English navy was more likely to have gratified, than frightened or grieved, though it might have justly surprised, the

enemies of England;" they therefore besought the King to provide such a remedy in this Parliament that the owners of ships might not incur similar losses in future to those which they had suffered in times past. The King promised them that he would take such measures as he well could on the subject. The Commons then stated, that, as the barges and balingers of Normandy were lying from the north of the Thames to the sea, no victualler, fishing-boat, or any other, could pass or return without being taken, to the great injury of all in the northern parts; and they prayed the King to remember that the inhabitants of those places had borne their charges in every way for the defence of the realm.[a] A. D. 1378. October.

In November Sir Thomas Percy was appointed Admiral of the northern fleet;[b] and two months before Sir Hugh Calveley had been recalled from the command of Calais, and made Admiral of the western fleet.

In February 1739, fears being again entertained of invasion,[c] all persons capable of bearing arms were directed to be arrayed throughout the kingdom;[d] and sums, varying from ten to one hundred pounds, were borrowed from individuals of all ranks to support the war.[e] When Parliament met in April, the Commons stated that the enemy's vessels were still on the northern coast; that they had attacked Scarborough, and in booty or ransoms had, within two years, carried off 1000*l.*; that some of the inhabitants A. D. 1379. February. April.

enemies of England. Roquefort gives, however, "*baudir*, se rejouir, assurer, garantir."

[a] Rot. Parl. III. 46.

[b] Rot. Franc. p. 127.

[c] Fœdera, VII. 209.

[d] Rot. Patent 2 Ric. II. p. 2, m. 31[d].

[e] Fœdera, VII. 210, 211.

A. D. 1379. April. were then in prison at Boulogne and other places; and, as that town was still in danger of being sacked and burnt, they prayed the King to send ships of war for its defence. The Earl of Northumberland and the mayor of London having been appointed to consult with the merchants on the subject, and to declare what should be done, they reported that two ships, two barges, and two balingers ought to be employed in the north, and that a duty should be levied upon every ship and crayer passing the Admiralty, of sixpence a ton-tight, going and returning, and sixpence a last upon all vessels laden with goods belonging to merchants of Norway, Prussia, or Scone, except ships laden with wines and merchandize from Flanders, which should be freighted and discharged at London; and except, also, vessels carrying wools and skins from London to Calais, the which ships the keepers of the northern sea were not to be bound to convoy unless they were paid for doing so.[a] The Commons then repeated their complaint of the injury done to the navy by the frequent impressment of ships, adding, that mariners, some being armed and others being archers, received only fourpence a day, which was so little that many of them had quitted their employment. They therefore requested that these men might be paid the same wages as other archers; but the petition was not complied with.[b]

It was enacted by this Parliament that all merchants of Genoa, Venice, Catalonia, Arragon, and of

[a] Rot. Parl. III. 63. On the 6th of June 1379, Sir Thomas Percy, admiral in the north, Thomas Rust, John Hesildene, John Scarborough, and Robert Rust of Blakeney, (who nobly sacrificed his life a few months afterwards; vide p. 282, *post*,) were appointed keepers of the sea in the north, to carry this ordinance into effect. Fœdera, VII. 220.

[b] Ibid. p. 66.

other countries towards the west, being in amity with A. D. 1379.
the King, bringing to Southampton or elsewhere ca- April.
racks, ships, galleys, or other vessels laden or unladen, might freely sell their merchandizes, and reload their vessels with wools, leather, woolfels, tin, and other staple, paying at the ports the same customs and subsidies as they would pay if they were to bring the same goods to the staple of Calais. Also, that mariners deserting the King's service should be fined double the wages they had taken, and, moreover, be imprisoned for a year; that sheriffs, mayors, and bailiffs should seize and imprison such fugitive mariners on the certificates of the Admirals or their lieutenants; and that sergeants-at-arms, masters, and others, who took bribes for allowing them to escape, should suffer the same punishment.[a]

Early in this year the two Admirals Percy and Calveley put to sea with a large force to scour the Channel; and they captured a ship of war and seven merchantmen, which they sent to Bristol.[b] About the 24th of June the crew of a barge belonging to Fowey, June.
whose term of service had expired, insisted upon returning home, notwithstanding the request of the Admirals that the vessel would remain with the fleets. As soon as the Admirals were out of sight, the barge fell in with a Flemish ship, which instantly attacked

[a] Statutes of the Realm, vol. II. p. 8.

[b] Walsingham, p. 224. A balinger belonging to Sir Hugh Calveley's fleet having improperly captured a Portuguese crayer, called the "Saint Margaret of Lisbon," laden with seventy-two tons of wine, on her voyage to Flanders, which was brought into Dartmouth, the King, on the complaints of the owners, ordered the crew to be released, and their goods restored, in February 1380, they swearing not to leave the kingdom without permission. A similar order was made at the same time respecting the crew and goods of another Portuguese ship, called the "Jesus Christ," which had been taken near the English coast by Sir Thomas Percy, Admiral of the north, and brought to Southampton. Rot. Claus. 3 Ric. II. m. 12 and 13.

A. D. 1379. June. her, although England was at peace with Flanders. The Cornishmen made a gallant resistance, but were overcome by numbers; and after putting the whole crew, as the Flemings supposed, to death, they sank the barge, to prevent their treacherous conduct from being known. It happened, however, that, during the hottest of the fight, a boy, seeing that his vessel must be taken, leapt from the barge into the Flemish ship, and concealed himself in the hold for three days without food, until they put into an English port, when, hearing people speak his native tongue, he discovered himself, and claimed the protection of his countrymen. The capture of the barge was punished by the confiscation of the ship, the Flemings being committed to prison and treated as pirates.

An affair took place in this year in which Sir John Clarke, a brave knight, whose merits are highly extolled, lost his life. While commanding a castle near one of the harbours of Brittany, a galley entered the port, with the intention, as was supposed, of setting fire to the ships lying there. Clarke and his soldiers hastened to defend them, without observing any order or caution, upon seeing which the galley pretended to retreat, and was followed by the English in one of their vessels. The stratagem succeeded; for, as soon as they were outside of the harbour, five other galleys which had been concealed rushed upon her. Sir John Clarke and his soldiers defended themselves with incredible valour, and, notwithstanding the disparity of force, brought his vessel back to the port. After seeing his men safely landed, Clarke was in the act of leaping on shore, when he was struck by a hatchet, which broke his thigh, and nearly cut off his leg,

and he fell, mortally wounded, into the enemy's hands.[a] A. D. 1379
"To add to our misfortunes," says Walsingham, "a June.
fine barge belonging to York having about the same time imprudently attacked several galleys, she suddenly found herself surrounded by them, and was compelled to surrender; but the enemy rushing on board to take possession of their prize, the vessel sank, carrying with her all the English as well as the barbarians."[b]

On the 12th of June the Duke of Lancaster was constituted the King's lieutenant, principal chieftain, and general, as well of the constable and marshal, as of the admirals for the time being, earls, barons, captains, knights, esquires, men-at-arms, and archers, and of all other persons whomsoever, on the sea, in the realm of France, Aquitaine, and in all other places abroad, with extraordinary powers and authority.[c]

In August the Duke of Brittany sailed from Eng- August.
land with an army and landed at St. Maloes; but before the heavy ships with stores could enter the port, which was not sufficiently wide to admit the whole of the fleet at the same time, the store-ships were attacked by French and Spanish galleys, which were hovering on the coast, who expected to make an easy capture because the wind prevented the ships of war, which had entered the harbour, from going out to their relief. As those vessels were exposed to the guns of the galleys,[d] there was no hope of saving them; but when the Admiral, Sir Hugh Cal-

[a] Walsingham, p. 230.

[b] Walsingham, p. 230. It does not appear why Walsingham should call the crews of those galleys "barbarians."

[c] Fœdera, VII. 218.

[d] "Missilibus, scilicet quæ vulgus gunnas vocant, terribiliter feriunt et conquassant ipsam classem." Walsingham, p. 232.

A. D. 1379. August. veley, perceived their danger, with an intrepidity becoming his station and consistent with his chivalrous character, he ordered his ship to leave the port and proceed to their assistance. The cowardly master said, however, that it was impossible to put to sea, and he could only be induced by threats of punishment to obey his Admiral's commands. With the utmost difficulty Calveley succeeded in approaching the enemy; and, as soon as his ship came within shot, he poured showers of arrows, "like a hail-storm in early spring," upon the galleys. During the conflict the English store-ships got safely into the harbour. The enemy taking to flight, were chased to some distance, and Calveley then returned to port.[a]

A fatal event happened towards the close of this year, by which England lost several of her most distinguished warriors. Sir John Arundel was appointed commander of two hundred men-at-arms and four hundred archers,[b] for the assistance of the Duke of Brittany, having with him Sir Hugh Calveley, Sir Thomas Percy, Sir Thomas Banastre, Sir Thomas Morieux, Sir William Elmham, and many other gallant knights. November. The troops assembled at Southampton, where a small fleet was waiting to convey them to Brittany. As the wind was unfavourable, the troops did not immediately embark, and it was therefore necessary to find quarters for them. Disregarding the earnest remonstrance of the abbess, Arundel insisted upon placing his soldiers in a neighbouring nunnery; and its inmates, including many married women, widows, and young ladies of rank, who were in the convent for their education, were grossly outraged by the licentious

[a] Walsingham, p. 232. [b] Froissart, II. 85.

soldiery, who added robbery and sacrilege to their other crimes. A chalice was stolen from the altar of a church and carried to one of the ships; and when the priest demanded its restoration, he was treated with scorn; but collecting his brethren, he proceeded to the sea-side, and with bell, book, and candle excommunicated and anathematized the thieves. Sir Thomas Percy and Sir Hugh Calveley, who are said to have been ignorant of these scandalous proceedings, issued a public notice, desiring any one who had been injured by their followers to appear before them, when they should obtain full satisfaction; and they were therefore attended to their ships by the prayers of the inhabitants, while Arundel received their curses and imprecations. A. D. 1379. December.

That men polluted with such crimes should have met with disasters, is the natural inference of a monkish writer. Not many hours after the denunciations of the priests a fair wind sprung up, and Sir John Arundel gave orders for the troops to embark. The master of his ship called Robert Rust, of Blakeney, warned him of an approaching tempest, but, with his usual obstinacy, Arundel insisted on putting to sea. As Rust had predicted, a violent storm soon came on, which dispersed the ships, and their crews were in the utmost danger. To lighten the vessels, they threw various articles overboard; but finding that this was insufficient, they threw sixty unhappy women into the sea, part of whom had willingly accompanied them, while others had been taken on board by force. The ships were first driven off the shores of Cornwall, but, from the violence of the gale, dared not anchor,[a] and

[a] Froissart, II. 85.

A. D. 1379. December. thence into the Irish Channel, where they were tossed about for several days. At length an island was seen on the coast of Ireland, and Arundel directed the master to make for it, but the sailors said it was safer in such weather to remain in deep water, than risk being stranded. Enraged at having his orders disputed, Arundel assaulted the crew and killed some of them; whereupon Rust, fearful for his life, promised to obey; and Arundel desired him to steer for the land, saying, that "even if it were inhabited by enemies, he would rather die by hostile hands, who would perhaps give his body burial, than be drowned and become food for the monsters of the deep." Rust endeavoured to run between the island and the main land, but, on coming near, they found themselves in the midst of rocks, when the master bid his comrades confess themselves and prepare for instant death, for there was no chance of escape. The ship struck and took in water; but at that moment a sort of landing-place being discovered, a successful effort was made to force her over the rocks upon the sand, and Rust instantly leaped on shore, some of the crew imitating his example. Sir John Arundel then jumped on to the quicksand, and thinking himself safe, began shaking the salt water from his clothes; but Rust, seeing his commander's peril, ran to his assistance, and seizing his hand, endeavoured to draw him higher on the shore. This noble effort, however, cost the poor fellow his life, for at that instant the sea, it being flood tide, rushed in and threw them both down; and the next wave swept them away. Two of Arundel's esquires, of the names of Musard and Devyock, were likewise washed off the rocks; and Sir Thomas Banastre, Sir Nicholas Trum-

pington, and Sir Thomas Dale,[a] in their eagerness to escape from the ship, got into each other's way, and being overtaken by the sea, were likewise drowned. Some of the survivors, being without clothes, died from cold and exposure; and, on the gale subsiding, the others were taken off the island at noon on the following Sunday by the Irish in their boats. Twenty-five[b] other ships of Arundel's fleet are stated to have perished in a similar manner. The vessels of Sir Thomas Percy, Sir Hugh Calveley, and Sir William Elmham were separated in the storm; and, according to Froissart,[c] Calveley was in great peril, all his crew having been drowned except himself and seven others, who saved themselves by clinging to the cables and masts, whence they were blown on the sands by the wind; but Walsingham,[d] who assures his readers that he has related nothing but the exact truth, which he had heard from those who were present, expressly says that neither Percy nor Calveley lost horse or man. A. D. 1379. December.

Though Sir Thomas Percy and his crew were greatly exhausted, it was not long before they succeeded in capturing, after an action of three hours, a Spanish ship full of troops, which had attacked them, making sure, from their condition, of an easy conquest. Percy then returned to England with his prize; and having pawned the vessel for 100*l.*, he proceeded to Brest.[e]

The exact date of the shipwreck is fixed to the 15th or 16th of December,[f] but it is difficult to as-

[a] Froissart calls him Sir Walter Paule.

[b] Froissart (II. 85) says only the three ships in which were Arundel, Banastre, Calveley, Sir Walter Paul (*query* Dale), and one hundred men-at-arms, were wrecked.

[c] II. p. 85.

[d] P. 243.

[e] Walsingham, pp. 238—242; Otterbourne, p. 150.

[f] Escheat on the death of Sir John Arundel, 3 *Ric. II. No.* 1. Eleven inquisitions were taken after his decease, five of which state that

A. D. 1379. December. certain the locality. If, however, as seems to have been the case, the gale came on from the south-east, when the fleet was about mid-channel, they may have been driven upon one of the islands near Cape Clear. The tempest which wrecked or dispersed the English squadron produced the like consequences to a large fleet of French, Spanish, and Portuguese ships, which had collected to prevent the troops from reaching Brittany; and it is said that they lost even a greater number of vessels and men than perished with Sir John Arundel.

A. D. 1380. The earliest proceeding relating to the Navy in 1380 was another representation by the Commons January. in Parliament, in January, of the injury done to shipowners by vessels being arrested before they were required, and which produced a partial remedy; for it was ordered that the owners should receive 3*s.* 4*d.* a ton-tight for every quarter of a year that their ships might be in the King's service, the first quarter to commence on the day they arrived at the harbour or other place of rendezvous; but this ordinance was to remain in force only until the next Parliament, that it might be seen in the meantime what advantages would arise from it by increasing the navy, or March. in any other manner.[a] On the 8th of March Sir Philip Courtenay was made Admiral of the western, and on the 8th of April Sir William Elmham was appointed Admiral of the northern fleet.[b]

he died on the 15th, and six on the 16th, of December. As Walsingham says the survivors remained on the island from Thursday (which was the 15th) to the following Sunday, the event probably happened on the 15th of December.

[a] Rot. Parl. III. 86.

[b] Rot. Franc. II. p. 131. Sir William Elmham was reappointed on the 16th of July in the same year. Rot. Scot. II. 25.

About Midsummer, an army under the command of the Earl of Buckingham was sent to the assistance of the Duke of Brittany; but having few ships, and a large fleet consisting of French, Spanish, and Portuguese galleys and other vessels having been sent to intercept the expedition, the troops landed at Calais, instead of proceeding by sea, and marched from thence into Brittany.[a] On this occasion John Philpott shewed his usual patriotism and munificence; for he not only provided vessels for the army, but, by redeeming the armour of many soldiers who had been compelled to pawn their weapons to obtain food, enabled them to serve.[b] Not long afterwards the people of Hull and Newcastle fitted out some ships against several piratical vessels; and, falling in with a Scottish ship manned with enemies, of the value of 7000 marks, they attacked and captured her.[c] During the summer the coast was continually harassed by the French and Spaniards;[d] but on the 20th of July their vessels were attacked by the ships of the western ports and driven into Kinsale, where, with the aid of the Irish, four barges and a balinger were taken, twenty-one English vessels recaptured, and their commanders, with several other eminent French and Spanish knights and four hundred men, were slain.[e] Winchelsea was again taken about this time; and, though the Abbot of Battle came, with his wonted promptitude, to its defence, he was driven back with the loss of one of his monks.[f]

A. D. 1380. June.

July.

[a] Walsingham, p. 243; Evesham, p. 19; Froissart, II. 94.

[b] Walsingham, p. 248.

[c] Ibid.

[d] Ibid.; Rot. Parl. II. 94.

[e] Walsingham, p. 249. Walsingham gives their names, but it is impossible to identify them; neither Froissart nor the Monk of Evesham mention this affair.

[f] Ibid. p. 250; Evesham, p. 20.

A. D. 1380. According to some writers, the Spanish galleys entered the Thames in this year, and burnt great part of Gravesend.[a]

In the Chancellor's speech on opening Parliament November. in November, he said that one of the causes for demanding a subsidy was, that the King would be put to immense expence for galleys to protect the sea-coast in the approaching season, to prevent the enemy from repeating the injuries which they had committed in the preceding year, when, as the Lords and Commons knew, they had done much damage and villany to the realm.[b] Another complaint was made respecting the forfeiture of ships as deodands; but it received the former answer, that the King would ascertain what had been the usage in matters relating to the crown, and that any one who was aggrieved might sue at the common law, when right would be done to him.[c] The Commons then stated that they were much injured by barges and balingers from Normandy, and by other enemies at sea, and they besought the King to cause a good guard to be placed on the sea, as well in the north as in the south; and they were told in reply, that the King, with the advice of his people, would cause the best to be done.[d] On the 16th of December. December the King wrote to the Count of Flanders, stating that some Flemish ships had been seized in the western parts of England, it being supposed

[a] Polychronicon, fol. 320; Southey (I. 341) says that Ayala (Cronica del Rey Don Juan I.) states that ten of the Spanish galleys were furnished conformably to a treaty, and that the other ten were equipped at the expence of the French King; and adds, "ficieron grand guerra este año á los Ingleses por la mar; é entraron por el rio de Artamisa, fasta cerca de la cibdad de Londres, á dó galeas de enemigos nunca entraron."

[b] Rot. Parl. III. 88.

[c] Ibid. p. 94.

[d] Ibid. p. 94.

that they meant to assist the enemy at sea; and he informed him, that, as soon as he was aware of the circumstances, orders were issued to release those vessels; and the count was requested to do the same on a similar occasion.[a] A. D. 1380. December.

On the 18th of December twenty ships, barges, balingers, and other vessels, with sailors to man them, were ordered to be impressed in the western Admiralty to proceed to the Loire, to the assistance of the Earl of Buckingham, who was besieging Nantes.[b] Charles the Fifth of France was succeeded in September of this year by his son, Charles the Sixth, who was then only twelve years old.

Early in 1381 ships were fitted out and an army raised to assist the King of Portugal in his war with Spain; and the command of the expedition was given to the Earl of Cambridge.[c] The fleet left Plymouth, and, after a boisterous voyage, "sailing by the wind and stars,"[d] arrived at Lisbon.[e] Sir John Roches was appointed Admiral of the western, and Sir Walter Fitz-Walter Admiral of the northern fleet, on the 26th of October;[f] and on the 29th orders were sent to the masters of the ships and caracks lying in the Hamill, to consult with each other in what manner their vessels could be secured in that port from the enemy, and protected from storms and tempests at sea. They were also enjoined to assist each other with their crews, boats, anchors, cables, ropes, and A. D. 1381. October.

[a] Fœdera, VII. 280.
[b] Rot. Franc. 4 Ric. II. m. 20.
[c] Otterbourne, p. 154; Walsingham, p. 257.
[d] "et singlèrent tant au vent et aux etoiles." Froissart, II. 169.
[e] Froissart, II. 169; Walsingham, p. 259. It does not appear when the expedition sailed.
[f] Rot. Franc. II. 138. Sir John Roches was reappointed on the 22nd of May 1382; Ibid. p. 140.

A. D. 1382. October. "hurdys," wherever it was necessary to weigh or to lay out anchors.[a]

November. Parliament met on the 4th of November, and the Commons immediately complained, that, although great sums had been granted for the defence of the realm, they had not been protected or aided against the enemy, who from year to year had burnt, pillaged, and robbed by land and sea, with their barges, galleys, and other vessels, for which no remedy had been provided; in consequence of which proceedings, the poor Commons, who had formerly lived in honour and prosperity, could scarcely exist. To this circumstance they mainly attributed the recent rebellion.[b] They soon after repeated their remonstrance upon this subject, and pointed out that the navy had been almost destroyed, in consequence of the produce of the country being reduced to the lowest value, while goods imported bore the highest price.[c]

In this year Sir Henry de Veer of Zealand, and some other knights, while on their passage to England to make a pilgrimage to our Lady of Walsingham, were captured by a French vessel; and in November Richard wrote to inform the King of France of the circumstances under which those knights had been made prisoners, and requested that they might be permitted to perform their vows.[d]

December. About the 21st of December[e] Anne of Bohemia, the betrothed Queen of England, arrived at Dover. She had remained a month at Brussels, fearing that she might be captured on her passage by twelve vessels

[a] MS. collection for the "Fœdera," in the Add. MSS. 4592, f. 151.
[b] Rot. Parl. III. 100.
[c] Ibid. p. 102.
[d] Rot. Franc. II. 39.
[e] Evesham, p. 35; Otterbourne, p. 155.

manned with Normans, which were cruising between Calais and Holland to intercept her. The Princess therefore proceeded by land to Calais,[a] and came in safety to England; but no sooner had she set her foot on English ground, than a gale arose, in which the ships that conveyed her and her suite were dashed to pieces.[b] A. D. 1381. December.

About May 1382 some vessels belonging to Rye, which were at sea in search of pirates, discovered several of the enemy's ships. Among them was a vessel bearing an ensign charged with a falcon,[c] which they recognized as having formerly belonged to Lord Latimer, but which had long before been captured by the French. Considering that the flag was displayed in contempt, they resolved to retake the vessel; and their request to have her restored being treated with derision, an action immediately took place. After a hard fight the English beat the enemy, recaptured the "Falcon," and took six other ships laden with wine and merchandize, together with three hundred men.[d] A. D. 1382. May.

The Commons again interfered in Naval affairs in October in this year, by requesting that the Admiralties of the west and the north might be divided as they had been in the time of the King's progenitors, and that no change might be made in any manner, for they said that the intention and supplication of the Commons in the last Parliament was,[e] that the October.

[a] Froissart, II. 181.

[b] Walsingham, p. 299.

[c] Walsingham says the ship was called the "Falcon," because she bore an ensign with a falcon, which was her distinguishing flag; — "Inter quas conspiciunt unam navem quæ quondam fuerat domini Thomæ de Latimer, et vocabatur Falco, propter insigne falconis quod positum erat ad cognitionem dictæ navis;" —but it is more likely that she took her flag from her name.

[d] Walsingham, p. 308.

[e] No notice of any proceeding respecting Admirals in that Parliament is to be found on the Rolls.

A. D. 1362. October. Admiral who was then appointed for the north should have the guard of the sea as far as the entrance of the port of Southampton; but they never meant that the jurisdiction of the Admiralty of the west should be in any way abridged, but that the Admiral of the north should only have the guard of the sea from the mouth of the Thames towards the north.[a] The King's answer was in the usual severe terms: "Let the said Admiralties be kept and held in their bounds and rights as in ancient times they have been." The Commons then represented, that, from the want of good government on the sea, many vessels had been captured, and the crews and vessels ransomed for large sums, while some of the people were kept in France to discover the secrets of the realm, and to bring the enemy to the most private parts of the kingdom, which could not be defended without great expense, to the destruction of the realm and the navy, unless some remedy were found. They reminded the King that they had granted 6*d.* in the pound on merchandize for the government of the sea, though none had been ordained; whereby many vessels had been lost, and the crews put to unbearable ransoms. The King merely promised, by the advice of his council, to provide a remedy.[b] The Commons also prayed the King to appoint a competent Admiral of the north, who might make good regulations for the safety of the coast and of property passing the sea, so that the enemy might not commit such injuries upon the people as they had done in the three preceding years, and

[a] This passage, which is a literal translation of the original, is by no means clear.

[b] Rot. Parl. III. 138.

even in the last year, when they had taken and destroyed sixty ships and crayers on the north coast, besides a great number of smaller vessels. To this request the King assented.[a] A. D. 1382.

It having been determined that Richard should proceed in person to France against his adversary, who was then besieging Calais, instructions were sent on the 12th of December to Sir Walter Fitz Walter and Sir John Roches, the two Admirals, to arrest ships for the King's passage;[b] but, as Charles had advanced into Flanders, and subdued the whole country except Ghent, the King was advised to go with his royal army to the aid of that city, which had always been true to England, and endeavour to recover Flanders. Measures for this purpose were recommended to the consideration of Parliament in February 1383.[c] Henry Spencer, the warlike Bishop of Norwich, who had taken the cross at the instance of Pope Urban, and raised an army of Crusaders, having proposed to aid the King in his wars and to relieve Ghent, the Commons expressed their satisfaction at his noble offer. The bishop said, that, if the fifteenth and tenth and other subsidies lately granted were assigned to him, he would undertake to furnish three thousand men-at-arms and three thousand archers, of which numbers five hundred men-at-arms and five hundred archers should be on the coast, ready to embark for Ghent, within twenty days after the first payment was made to him; and, if he had the attendance of the west Admiral, he would moreover find ten large ships and ten good barges armed for the guard December. A. D. 1383. February.

[a] Rot. Parl. III. 138[b].
[b] Fœdera, VII. 373.
[c] Rot. Parl. III. 144.

A. D. 1383. February. of the sea, with five hundred fighting-men besides their crews, between that time and Michaelmas.[a] The bishop's proposition not being agreeable to the crown, he made another offer before Parliament separated, which was accepted; but nothing was determined upon respecting shipping.[b] In this Parliament the Commons again besought the King to provide immediately for the safety of the sea, without which the people could not, they said, have any security for their goods, neither on the high sea nor in the ports, as had been shewn upon all the coasts of the country, and especially in the north. They reminded the King of the subsidies which had been granted for that purpose; they stated that many persons had been ruined by their losses, and that his allies were deterred from coming to the realm. This petition received unusual attention, for the council was directed to consult with a certain number of the knights and merchants in that Parliament as to what had best be done.[c] About this time two merchants and two mariners undertook to keep the sea-coast from Winchelsea to Berwick; and on the 6th of May all persons were commanded to aid and assist them, ships and sailors being at the same time impressed for that purpose.[d]

March. In March shipping were arrested for the passage of the Bishop of Norwich's army;[e] and on the 8th of April. April every vessel carrying from sixteen to one hundred tons was ordered to be impressed for that service.[f] The fleet assembled at Dover, but the em-

[a] Rot. Parl. III. 146.
[b] Ibid. p. 148.
[c] Ibid. p. 146.
[d] Rot. Franc. II. 142.
[e] Six of those vessels were despatched for the defence of Cherbourg. Fœdera, VII. 386.
[f] Fœdera, VII. 391.

barkation of the troops was delayed by a storm, unprecedented in violence at that time of the year, which did great damage to the shipping, breaking their masts, splitting their sails, snapping their cables, reversing their yards, and destroying their equipments. This gale lasted nearly a month, and it seemed, says the Chronicler, as if the ocean wished to cool the burning ardour of the soldiers. Another fleet having been equipped,[a] the bishop landed at Calais about the middle of May,[b] and marching from thence into Flanders, laid siege to Ypres.[c] The French then fitted out five balingers to prevent communication between his army and England, because the crusaders intended to advance upon Aquitaine. These vessels did so much mischief, that the sailors of Portsmouth and Dartmouth armed their ships, and soon fell in with the enemy. After a severe action, the English captured the whole of the French balingers, putting the crews, except nine men, to death; and the affair is called by Walsingham "a glorious victory."[d] Similar success attended the squadron which was guarding the seas; for, besides eight barges, laden with wine and other goods, it took one vessel "by right of war," meaning, probably, after some resistance.[e]

A. D. 1383.

May.

In this year an immense Genoese carack, richly laden, was driven into Sandwich by a gale of wind;

[a] La Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, contenant le regne de Charles VI., de 1380 à 1422, (par M. Bellaguet; cinq tomes, Paris, 4to. 1844,) tome i. p. 259. The monk was mistaken in saying that this expedition was commanded by the Earl of Buckingham.

[b] Fœdera, VII. 394—399; Otterbourne, p. 157. According to Froissart (II. 268) the bishop and his army landed at Calais on the 23rd of April; but he was mistaken.

[c] Knyghton (col. 2672) says, that, before the bishop raised the siege of Calais, he placed a large machine and a trepget, with a great gun called the "gun of Canterbury," against one of the towers. Walsingham (p. 327) also notices the gun.

[d] Walsingham, p. 331.

[e] Ibid. p. 331.

A. D. 1383. but, though her cargo would, it is said, have supplied the whole country, the merchants of London induced her to proceed to Flanders, lest the sale of the goods which they had on hand might be prejudiced were fresher and better commodities brought into the market.[a]

October. When Parliament met in October, the Commons granted the moiety of a fifteenth for the defence of the realm, and continued the subsidy on wines and goods for another year for the guard of the sea from St. Michael's Mount to Hastings, from Hastings to Kirkley Roads, and from Kirkley to the river Tweed; but they stipulated that the money should be duly levied and delivered to the Admirals who had been lately appointed, and not put to farm, and that those Admirals should in that Parliament guarantee the safety of the sea. The Earl of Northumberland said, for himself and for his colleague the Earl of Devon, that though they would promise to do everything in their power, truly and zealously, so far as the money they might receive admitted, yet they would not, upon any condition whatever, undertake to secure the safety of the sea.[b]

Northumberland's candid answer did not satisfy the Commons, for they told the King, that, not only had nothing been done for the safety of the sea, notwithstanding the subsidy granted for the purpose, but that they had been obliged to expend their own money for the protection of their goods and persons, and had thus incurred double charges: they therefore prayed that they might be released from

[a] Walsingham, p. 318. [b] Rot. Parl. III. 152.

the subsidy that had been granted. The King assured them that he would, with the advice of his Council and Admirals, provide for the safeguard of the sea, and that the whole of the subsidy should be applied to that object.[a] The commission to the Earl of Devon as Admiral of the western fleet was issued on the 12th of November, and to the Earl of Northumberland as Admiral of the northern fleet on the 2nd of December.[b] After reciting the injuries they had sustained from the barges and vessels belonging to the Scotch, Flemings, French, and other enemies, which had captured their ships to the value of 2000*l.*, the inhabitants of Scarborough said that they had bought a barge and balinger for their defence, but were unable to fit them out. They therefore asked for a commission empowering them to impress soldiers to man those vessels, and authority to levy a local tax on fish and merchandize to pay the expenses attending them; but the King did not comply with their requests.[c]

A. D. 1383. November. December.

A truce having been concluded with France which was to endure from the 26th of January until the 1st of October 1384, and in which Scotland was soon after included, and was prolonged to the 1st of May in the ensuing year,[d] there were few Naval transactions for fifteen months. Among the persons appointed conservators of this truce were the two Admirals.[e] It was, however, soon broken by a barge of Dieppe capturing a ship belonging to York off Great Yarmouth, with a cargo worth 1000*l.*; and on the 17th of April

A. D. 1384. January. April.

[a] Rot. Parl. III. 160.
[b] Rot. Franc. II. 144.
[c] Rot. Parl. III. 162.
[d] Fœdera, VII. 419, 434, 442.
[e] Ibid. p. 447.

A. D. 1384. the mayor of Southampton was directed to seize al French vesssels in that port by way of reprisal.[a] A payment to Sir Thomas Beauchamp, captain of Carisbrook Castle, in November, shews that the Isle of Wight had been recently attacked by the enemy's galleys, and that cannon had become a common engine of war.[b]

A. D. 1385. January. On the 8th of January 1385, ships were impressed and sent to Plymouth for an expedition to Portugal;[c] and all Portuguese vessels, seamen, and property in the western admiralty, were soon after ordered to be arrested.[d] On the 29th of that month Sir Thomas Percy was again appointed Admiral of the northern fleet; and Sir John Radyngton, prior of Saint John's of Jerusalem, was at the same time made Admiral of the western fleet.[e]

The most important event in the years 1385 and 1386 was the intended invasion of England by the French, for which object most formidable preparations February. were made. In February 1385, Charles the Sixth, who was then in the seventeenth year of his age, and full of

[a] Rot. Claus. 7 Ric. II. m. 7.

[b] On the 11th of November 1384, Sir Thomas Beauchamp, late captain of Carisbrook Castle, in the Isle of Wight, was paid 45*l.* 15*s.* for wages of his men-at-arms; and 26*l.* 5*s.* for moneys paid by him for five gunners each having his cannon, and to one gunner having three cannons, and for powder for the same, to protect the island against the King's enemies, who in some galleys lately attempted to invade it. On the 1st of May 1385, Sir Simon Burley, constable of Dover Castle, was paid 97*l.* 10*s.* for twelve guns, two iron "patellæ," 120 stones for the guns, 100 lbs. of powder, and for four stocks of wood for fortifying Dover Castle; and, on the 29th March 1386, Simon de Burgh, treasurer of the town of Calais, was paid 10*l.* for making sixty cannons, and 5*l.* for forming stones to be thrown by engines, for fortifying the town of Calais. (Issue Rolls, 8 & 9 Ric. II., ed. Devon, pp. 226, 227, 229.) On the 14th of August 1389, a man was appointed gunner of Calais. Rot. Franc. II. 180. After this time cannon are constantly mentioned.

[c] Fœdera, VII. 453.

[d] Ibid. p. 455. In May a similar mandate was issued, and the ships and persons were to be delivered to the Portuguese ambassador. Ibid. p. 472.

[e] Rot. Franc. 8 Ric. II. m. 12.

military ardour, assembled a fleet of six hundred ships A. D. 1385.
at Sluys, under the command of Sir John de Vienne, admiral of France, which was also the rendezvous of an immense army.[a] If Walsingham is to be believed, the armament struck terror into every class of persons in this country. Even the bravest knights, he says, were alarmed; and none spoke of resistance or of war, but only of flight and submission.[b] The government sought to ward off the blow by negotiation, instead of nobly resisting it; and the Bishop of Hereford, Sir William Beauchamp, and others, were sent on the 4th of March with the hope of obtaining a March.
peace, under the usual specious pretences of a desire to prevent the effusion of Christian blood and of justifying Richard's conduct and quarrel before all the world.[c] A partial truce for two months was agreed to, but which was of advantage only to the enemy, for it enabled them to mature their arrangements, and it was stipulated that hostilities should not be suspended at sea.[d] Ships were fitted out in all the English ports, and a fleet sailed under the command of the two Admirals, who were to guard the seas during the summer; but, though they frequently saw the French fleet, which "now passed, now mocked them, they dared not attack the enemy, being either deterred by fear or prevented by internal dissensions."[e]

[a] St. Denys, I. 350.

[b] Walsingham, p. 342. "Ipsi milites, olim exercitati sed modò effeminati, olim animosi sed modò meticulosi, olim cordati sed nunc excordes et enervati, trepidare cœperunt; et non de resistentiâ non de bello modò, sed de fugâ vel deditione tractabant."

[c] Fœdera, VII. 466.

[d] Walsingham, p. 342. This truce is not in the Fœdera.

[e] "Videntes frequenter classem Gallicam, nunc eos prætereuntem, nunc etiam deridentem, nihil omnino contra eos qui in illo erant agere statuerunt, impediti vel privatâ discordiâ vel vecordiâ repercussi." Walsingham, p. 342.

A. D. 1385. The pusillanimity of the King's fleet stands in disgraceful contrast to the conduct of the sailors of Portsmouth and Dartmouth. "Hired by none, bought by none," to use the animated expressions of the historian of the period, "but spurred on by their own valour and innate courage,"[a] these gallant mariners proceeded to the Seine with a small force, where they captured four, and sank the same number of French vessels. Among the prizes was the barge of the Sire de Clisson, which was worth 20,000 florins, and had no equal in size or beauty either in England or France.[b]

May. About May[c] Sir John de Vienne was sent with an army and sixty ships[d] to assist the Scots, with the view of drawing the English forces into the north, and thereby facilitating Charles' plans of invasion.[e] While de Vienne's ships were lying at anchor off the coast a gale came on which drove them against each other; and the English fleet,[f] taking advantage of the wind, made many attempts to capture or burn them, but were always repulsed by the courage of their crews. As soon as the storm abated, and the French ships had weighed, the English filled a vessel with dry wood, pitch, resin, and other combustibles, and, setting her on fire, let

[a] "Quos nullus conduxerat, nullus coëmerat ad nocendum hostibus, sed virtus propria stimulaverat, probitas innata succenderat." Walsingham, p. 342.

[b] Walsingham, p. 342; Knyghton, col. 2676.

[c] Froissart, II. 314. Knyghton (2674) says June. The monk of St. Denys does not give any precise date, merely saying, "about the beginning of summer;" but he afterwards states that de Vienne came to Edinburgh "about the feast of St. Catherine," *i. e.* the 29th of April.

[d] Knyghton (col. 2674) says three hundred ships; but Des Ursins (Histoire de Charles VI., by Jean Juvenal des Ursins, Archevesque de Rheims, fol. 1653, p. 47) agrees with the monk of St. Denys by saying that De Vienne had sixty ships and other vessels.

[e] Walsingham, p. 342; Knyghton, col. 2674-5; Evesham, p. 61; Otterbourne, p. 160.

[f] Des Ursins (p. 47) says that the English fleet, which was very large —"à bien grosse puissance"—and more than double the number of the French, had put to sea to fight them.

her drift among the French vessels. At that mo- A. D. 1385
ment the horizon was covered with dense clouds, and vivid lightning and heavy thunder struck the enemy's sailors and troops with alarm. For some days their ships were unmanageable, and being driven from place to place, were in the greatest danger. At length, however, they succeeded in recovering their station. Many of the soldiers having in their terror murmured, saying, it was better to return home safe and sound than expose themselves to the perils of a stormy sea, Sir John de Vienne drew them up on the shore, and, after reanimating them by a spirited speech, leapt on board his ship, and, being followed by the whole of the troops, sailed for Scotland.[a] The French fleet coasted with a fair wind along the shores of Flanders and Holland, until they came in sight of Scotland, when they made for Edinburgh. An accident disturbed the pleasure of their voyage. A young knight, Sir Aubert d'Hangest, wishing to display his agility, went aloft completely armed, but his feet slipping, he fell overboard, and from the weight of his armour, instantly sank, to the great grief of his companions.[b] Sir John de Vienne, it is said, became enamoured of a cousin of the King of Scots; and the scandal excited so much displeasure to the monarch and his court, that, to avoid assassination, the Admiral and his countrymen embarked secretly in their ships, and returned to France about the end of this, or early in the following year.[c]

The English government adopted various measures for the defence of the kingdom. On the 8th of

[a] St. Denys, I. 364, 365; Des Ursins, p. 47.

[b] Froissart, II. 314.

[c] Des Ursins, I. 49; St. Denys, I. 390, 392.

A. D. 1385. June the Abbot of Bury was directed to reside on the coast of Suffolk until Michaelmas, with men-at-arms, hoblars, and archers, to resist the enemy, who had assembled large fleets of ships and galleys to invade the realm,[a] similar orders having, it is presumed, been issued to many persons in other parts of England. All the peers and great tenants *in capite*

June. were commanded on the 23rd of June to serve against the Scots under the King in person;[b] but the war in Scotland was not attended by any Naval proceedings.

September. The French having postponed the invasion of England until the following year,[c] they sent the ships about the middle of September from Sluys to their respective ports to lay up for the winter; but the vessels were overtaken by so violent a storm on their passage, that many of them were driven on shore near Calais and the adjacent places belonging to England. On the 14th of that month, two large galleys, a lyne, a barge, and seven balingers foundered off Calais, and five hundred men, escaping from the wrecks, were made prisoners. Three days afterwards, seventy-two French vessels endeavouring to pass Calais were attacked by the garrison under the command of Sir William Beauchamp, and a great barge containing sixty[d] soldiers, together with eighteen ships, were captured. On the 20th, after an action of six hours with forty-five very large French ships, two vessels and a cog, and two French admirals, were taken, but the remainder of the ships

[a] Fœdera, VII. 474. On the 20th of June the sittings of the courts of law were adjourned, in consequence of the expected invasion of the French and Scots. Ibid. p. 476.

[b] Fœdera, VII. 474.

[c] Walsingham, pp. 344, 345; Evesham, p. 63.

[d] Evesham (p. 64) says seventy soldiers.

made their escape, and two hundred and twenty-six men were killed or made prisoners.[a] As the prizes drew too much water to enter the port of Calais, they were sent to Sandwich. One of those vessels, which was quite new, had cost the Lord of Clisson three thousand francs at Sluys; and the cog had been hired for five thousand francs to protect the other vessels on their return to France.[b] On another occasion Sir John Radington captured two taricks richly laden; and altogether more than eighty sail of various sizes were taken from the enemy in this year.[c] A. D. 1385.

Parliament met on the 20th of October, but nothing took place respecting the Navy, besides the requests of the Commons that a sufficient guard should be appointed for the sea; that they might be informed who were to be the Admirals; and that the allowance of three shillings and fourpence a quarter for each ton-tight, for armed vessels to protect merchants and for the defence of the realm, might be continued, because the Navy could not otherwise be maintained. Neither of these petitions was favourably received. The Commons were told that the King, with the advice of his council, would appoint competent Admirals, and that only two shillings a ton-tight would be allowed for the expenses of shipping until the next Parliament.[d] October.

Though there could have been no doubt that the French would renew their preparations for the inva-

[a] Walsingham, p. 346; Evesham, p. 64; Otterbourne, p. 161. Knyghton (2676) states that altogether forty-eight vessels were taken.

[b] Walsingham, p. 346.

[c] Knyghton, col. 2676. He says Sir *Baldwin* Radington, but it was more probably Sir John Radington, the Admiral of the western fleet.

[d] Rot. Parl. III. 212, 213.

A. D. 1385. sion as soon as the season became favourable for their fleet to assemble, this country was drained of ships and
A. D. 1386. soldiers in 1386 for the Duke of Lancaster's expedition to Spain to obtain possession of that kingdom, his right to which he had long publicly asserted; and a fruitless effort was again made to obtain peace with France,[a] as well as with Scotland.[b]

February. On the 22nd of February Sir Philip Darcy was made Admiral of the northern, and Sir Thomas Trivet of the western fleet.[c] Twenty ships and crayers,[d] carrying seventy tons and upwards, were ordered, on the 15th of May, to be impressed in the northern ports and sent to Plymouth for Lancaster's passage.[e] So much importance was attached to his expedition, that when vessels and sailors were directed on the 28th of May to be impressed to carry the Marquis of Dublin and his soldiers to Ireland, and even when, in consequence of the French monarch having laid siege to Calais, and assembled a large fleet of ships and galleys for the invasion of the realm, it was necessary to arrest every vessel of sixty tons and upwards, as well as all barges and balingers in the western and northern admiralty, together with sailors to man them, yet neither the ships nor the men belonging to Lancaster's squadron were to be interfered with.[f]

[a] Ambassadors for that purpose were appointed on the 22nd of January. Fœdera, VII. 492.

[b] Ibid. 498.

[c] Rot. Franc. p. 151. The accounts of Sir Thomas Trivet's payments are on the Roll "E.B.1487."

[d] "Viginti naves et craieras calfattas, de portagio sexaginta et decem doliorum et ultra." Fœdera, VII. 501. "Calfattas" was not, as the editor of the Fœdera seems to have supposed, a class of vessels, but meant crayers that had been caulked.

[e] Fœdera, III. 500, 504.

[f] Fœdera, VII. 506, 507. Towards the end of May the King of Armenia came to England, with the hope of effecting a peace with France, but failed. Froissart, who gives a long account of his proceedings, (II. 527—531,) places his mission later in

In June, the ships stationed off Dover and Sandwich under Sir Philip Darcy fell in with some large Genoese cogs and six caracks,[a] laden with valuable cargoes of wine, cloth of gold, velvet, gold and silver, precious stones, and other merchandizes, bound for Sluys; but being, it is said, known to be enemies, they were taken and did not make any resistance. The captors brought their prizes into Sandwich, and began to unload them; but the Genoese hastened to London to Sir Michael de la Pole, the lord chancellor, who, being "a merchant and the son of a merchant," was suspected of improperly favouring persons of that profession. He induced the King to command that the vessels and cargoes should be immediately restored, and the loss they had sustained made good to the owners.[b] A. D. 1386. June.

The duke was detained at Plymouth[c] so long a time for a fair wind, that great part of the provisions of his ships were consumed; but on Sunday the 8th of July, towards evening, while Lancaster was at supper with his son, the Earl of Derby (afterwards King Henry the Fourth), a favourable breeze sprang up, and the fleet,[d] consisting of two hundred vessels under the admiralty of Sir Thomas Percy, with twenty thousand select troops[e] on board, put to sea. The duke's galley is

the year. His safe-conduct was dated on the 18th of May 1386. Fœdera, VII. 502.

[a] Knyghton (col. 2678) says, four taricks and six large ships.

[b] Evesham, p. 73; Walsingham, p. 354. Both these writers express themselves very bitterly against this proceeding, whereby the King was, they say, deceived, and the realm deprived of the treasure; but the probability is that the Genoese had been illegally captured.

[c] Froissart (II. 486, 487) states, erroneously, that the expedition sailed from Bristol in May. On the 1st of June the duke was directed to send the ships back to England as soon as he landed, and other measures were taken for ensuring their return to England. Fœdera, VII. 524.

[d] Knyghton (col. 2676) says, the duke sailed on Sunday, "the 7th ides of July;" but Sunday occurred on the 8th ides of that month.

[e] Knyghton, col. 2676. It appears that in this expedition, or, as

A. D. 1386. June. stated to have been very handsome and well armed; and he had, besides, a large ship for his consort, who expected to become Queen of Castile before her return, and for his daughters and their ladies. Seven Portuguese galleys and eighteen large ships,[a] commanded by Don Alphonso Vretat, Admiral of the Portuguese navy, who had been sent to England to induce the Duke of Lancaster to assist his sovereign, accompanied the fleet. The fleet, which consisted altogether of more than two hundred sail, came in sight of the Channel islands, and the galleys which contained the men-at-arms occasionally ran along the coast of Normandy in search of the enemy's vessels, but the French had put into Havre on hearing that the English were at sea. After various plans had been discussed, for the knights and esquires were as impatient to perform some deed of arms, "as peregrine falcons which have long been kept without food are anxious to fly in search of prey," it was determined to land at Brest, and besiege the castle; and Vretat, who was well acquainted with the coast, piloted the ships into the harbour.[b] The siege was conducted with great skill. On the sea-side a line was formed of the ships, which were moored with anchors and strongly fastened to each other, having on board them beams or platforms covered with earth, on which wooden towers and other engines were erected; and these vessels effectually blockaded the town. On shore, two wooden castles or

it was called, "grand voyage," there were three thousand men-at-arms and three thousand archers. Roll "J. P. R. 2804."

[a] Knyghton (col. 2676) states that the Portuguese squadron consisted of ten large ships and six well armed galleys, having from one hundred and eighty to three hundred rowers, and that they arrived at Plymouth on the 30th of June.

[b] Froissart, II. 486—488.

" stages were constructed of the ships' masts containing A. D. 1386.
machines for throwing missiles into the place. The French made, however, so resolute a defence, that, at the end of three days, the Duke found it would require too much time to reduce the castle; and, proceeding to Spain[a] with all his ships and troops, he arrived at Corunna on the 9th of August.[b] "It was a fine sight," says Froissart, "to see all the ships and galleys enter the port laden with men-at-arms and stores, and their trumpets sounding, which were answered by the trumpets of the town and castle, shewing that they were well garrisoned, and that the French were in possession of both." When the troops and stores were disembarked, Lancaster was asked what was to be done with the ships, and he replied, "I wish all the sailors to be well paid for their trouble, and I shall dismiss them, for I desire every one to know that I will never recross the sea to England until I am master of Castile, or die in the attempt."[c] These orders were obeyed, and the sailors having been satisfied, made sail for their own ports.[d] About this time the English squadron captured some ships and a galley, in which were two merchants of London; and they retook a vessel laden with corn and flour belonging to the duke's fleet which had been taken by the Spaniards.[e]

France had never witnessed military preparations of such extent and variety as were made in the summer of this year for the invasion of England. The spirit

[a] St. Denys, I. 436, 437; Des Ursins, I. 55.

[b] Evesham (p. 71) and Walsingham (p. 350) say, the Duke of Lancaster landed at Corunna on the eve of St. Lawrence, *i. e.* the 9th of August.

[c] Froissart, II. 491. The Duke of Lancaster had been ordered to send his ships to England as soon as he landed. Vide p. 303, note [c], *ante*.

[d] Froissart, II. 486—492.

[e] Knyghton, 2678.

A. D. 1386. of William the Conqueror seemed to have revived in Charles the Sixth, and every other object appeared to be forgotten in the desire to subdue this country. There was not, says Froissart, a large vessel from Seville to Prussia, which the French could lay their hands on, that was not impressed for the expedition;[a] but when the Hollanders and Flemings were required to furnish their ships for the conveyance of the army, they insisted upon being paid in hand.[b] "Never, since God created the world," were there seen so many large ships as filled the harbour of Sluys, or were on the coast between Sluys and Blankenberg, amounting to thirteen hundred and eighty-seven sail.[c] The Monk of St. Denys describes the ships, which he says exceeded nine hundred sail, as being mostly long vessels with prows, and having two sails. He adds that there were others much larger for the conveyance of horses, which were embarked through a door in the stern;[d] and that the largest ships, called "dromons," carried the stores and military engines.[e]

The ship of Sir Oliver de Clisson, commonly called "the butcher," Constable of France, was built at Treguier, in Brittany; and he also ordered a remarkable large wooden house to be made, which was to be conveyed in pieces and put together on landing in England, for the lords to retire to and lodge in, so that they might sleep securely at night.[f] Heavy taxes

[a] Froissart, II. 497.

[b] Ibid. p. 498.

[c] Ibid. Walsingham (p. 354) says, the French had twelve hundred ships and six hundred thousand troops; and Otterbourne (p. 166), that the French had three thousand ships.

[d] Vide vol. I. p. 366.

[e] La Chronique de Saint Denys, I. 451.

[f] Froissart (p. 498), the Monk of St. Denys (p. 431), Knyghton (col. 2679), and Walsingham (p. 354) also notice this house or tower. Walsingham says it was twenty feet

were imposed upon all classes for the expences of the armament; and Froissart, who was an eye-witness,[a] feeling that his description of the bustle and activity caused by loading the fleet with various stores at Damme, Sluys, and Bruges was inadequate to convey an idea of the scene, adds, that such were the interest and pleasure of the sight, that, if any one had a fever or tooth-ache, he would have got rid of the pain in going from one place to another. The ruin of England formed the general topic of conversation in the French army. It was said that all the men were to be put to death, and the women and children carried in slavery to France;[b] and the clergy, in full sacerdotal habits, went from church to church imploring the Almighty to bless the enterprize.[c] Money was no more thought of than if it had rained gold and silver from the clouds, or if it were pumped up from the sea;[d] and the impatience of the knights to embark was even exceeded by that of their young King. All the great lords vied with each other in the equipment and ornaments of their ships, which were gaily painted and gilt, having their arms depicted upon them and upon their banners. The masts were painted from top to bottom, some being even covered with sheets of gold-leaf, and were surmounted with the arms of the owner of the vessel. One knight, Sir Guy de Trémouille, expended no less than ten thousand francs in adorning his ship. Rich banners,

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high and three thousand paces long, having at certain distances towers ten feet high, capable of holding ten men for the protection of gunners. Des Ursins (pp. 55—58) states that when the expedition was abandoned, Charles gave this house to his uncle the Duke of Burgundy.

[a] Froissart, II. 531.

[b] Froissart, II. 497, 498.

[c] St. Denys, p. 453.

[d] "qu'il apleuist des nues, ou que on le puisât en la mer." Froissart, p. 500.

A. D. 1386. pennons, and standards floated everywhere; and it is only from Froissart's own words that a notion can be formed of the profusion and splendour of the French monarch and his nobility, or of the magnitude of the arrangements for the expedition.[a]

These preparations excited such alarm in England, as almost to have paralyzed the national courage. Walsingham, who always writes with the spirit of a warrior rather than with the meekness of a monk, says, the Londoners were panic-struck, and began to conceal themselves "like timid hares or mice," as if the city were on the point of being taken. They ran to the walls like mad or drunken men, pulling down houses, and committing other acts which would only be proper at the last extremity, though not a Frenchman had set his foot on ship-board.[b] Froissart also notices the alarm that prevailed in England; but he adds, that more than a hundred thousand of the English wished the French to land, saying to those who were dismayed, "Let these Frenchmen come. By God, not one of them shall return to France!" while those who were in debt, and did not wish to pay, said to their creditors, "Hold your tongues! they are coining in France the florins with which you shall be satisfied." In this confidence they spent freely, for credit was not refused them; and, when asked to pay, they exclaimed, "What do you ask? is it not much better that we should enjoy the goods of this country, than that the French should find and take them away?"[c]

[a] Froissart, II. 500, 501.

[b] Walsingham, p. 351. Evesham p. 73) uses the same expressions.

[c] Froissart, II. 501.

No measures for the defence of the realm nor for the A. D. 1386.
equipment of a fleet are recorded, (except those that had been taken in May,[a]) until long after they ought to have been adopted; nor does it appear that the most honourable and effectual mode of resisting the invasion, by encountering the enemy in a general action at sea, was for a moment contemplated.[b] The conduct of the government, in permitting the greater part of the navy, and an immense army, to leave England in June in the face of the impending danger, can only be accounted for by its not being strong enough to oppose Lancaster's selfish policy in seeking a foreign crown instead of remaining to defend his own country, unless indeed it were supposed that the expedition would divert Charles from his design.

The only proceedings of a military or Naval nature in July was the appointment, on the 9th of that month, July.
of persons to muster the men-at-arms and archers who were serving under the two Admirals, Darcy and Trivet.[c] In August, however, the King's council became August.
alive to the danger with which the realm was menaced. On the 9th of that month the Earl of Arundel was commanded to array soldiers for the defence of the coasts of Surrey and Sussex; and noblemen were directed to take similar measures in the other counties, because the King had received information that Charles was resolved to invade England, with the in-

[a] Vide p. 302, *ante*.

[b] Froissart (II. 502) says, it was intended to allow the enemy to land, and to remain undisturbed for three or four days, when his fleet was to be attacked and destroyed, with all the stores; after which the English troops were to advance against the French, not, however, to fight a battle, but to harass the army, cut off all supplies, and starve them into submission. He also gives a long account of the preparations made for the defence of the country.

[c] Rot. Franc. p. 153.

A. D. 1386. tention of utterly destroying the realm.[a] In September ships and boats were strictly ordered to remain within the chains of the port of Great Yarmouth during the impending danger from the enemy;[b] money was borrowed from the bishops and abbots, as well as from many cities, in consequence of the urgent necessity of the crown;[c] troops were levied in all parts of the country, and sent to London to serve under the King against the French; a proclamation was issued, forbidding exorbitant prices being demanded for provisions, horses, and armour;[d] and on the 28th ships were ordered to be arrested to serve in an armament at sea.[e] Froissart states that the Earl of Arundel and Lord Despencer[f] were sent to sea with forty large ships and three hundred men-at-arms and six hundred archers completely armed.[g]

The middle of August was fixed upon for the invasion; and Charles, having taken leave of his young bride and the princesses, heard a solemn mass at Notre Dame, intending, after he quitted Paris, never to re-enter it until he had landed in England. The progress of his army through France was marked by such desolation to the country-people, everything being devoured or carried off without payment, and complaints leading only to violence or murder, that the wretched creatures exclaimed, "Go, go to England; and may never a soul of you come back!" As soon as Charles arrived at Sluys, every succeeding day was named for

[a] Rot. Franc. pp. 153, 154; Fœdera, VII. 540.

[b] Rot. Claus. 10 Ric. II. m. 39.

[c] Fœdera, VII. 543—545; Rot. Claus. 10 Ric. II. m. 39. d.

[d] Fœdera, VII. 545, 546.

[e] Rot. Franc. p. 154.

[f] Probably Sir Hugh Despenser, mentioned in p. 322, *post*. Thomas Lord Despenser was then only thirteen years old.

[g] Froissart, II. 498, 499.

embarkation; but the Duke de Berry did not arrive; A. D. 1386.
delay followed delay; and the resources of the poorer knights and esquires becoming exhausted, they suffered much distress. The constable of France embarked at Treguier for Sluys with seventy-two large ships, containing his military engines, stores, and his celebrated wooden town. As he approached the English coast the wind became unfavourable, and gradually strengthened. When off Margate the gale dispersed his squadron, seven of which were driven on the coast of Zealand, and the constable succeeded, with much difficulty, in reaching Sluys. Three of his ships, laden with parts of the wooden town, and a vessel carrying guns, powder, and engines, were captured by Sir William Beauchamp about Michaelmas; and the prizes being brought into Sandwich, the constable's fortification was immediately erected for the defence of the town.[a]

When Charles received the constable, he expressed much eagerness to put to sea, but was told that it was impossible, for the wind was southerly, and that the sailors had never known it remain so long in one quarter as it had done for two months past. "Constable," said the King, "by my faith, I have been on board my ship: I like the sea very much, and I believe I shall be a good sailor, for I was not in the least sick."[b] As the wind still continued contrary, the expedition was unable to sail; and the Flemings, heartily tired of the army, vented their feelings in various disparaging remarks, and eventually attempted to rise upon the French. "You will not,"

[a] Walsingham, p. 354; Evesham, p. 74; Knyghton, 2679, who says the fortification was erected around Winchelsea.

[b] Froissart, II. 530.

A. D. 1386. said they, "see them cross over this year. They think they shall quickly conquer England, but it will not be so: it is not so easy a matter; for the English are of a different nature from the French. What can they do to England? When the English were in France, and marched through it, they shut themselves in their strong castles and good towns, and fled before them like larks before a sparrow-hawk."[a]

October. On the 31st of October the wind at length changed, and the French ships disanchored and put to sea; but, before they had proceeded twenty miles, it veered back to its former quarter, blowing with such violence as to compel the fleet to return to Sluys, and some of the vessels were wrecked on entering the port.[b]

The Duke de Berry, the King's uncle, arrived at Sluys about this time; but, instead of sailing, the expedition was, by his advice, deferred, in consequence of the advanced period of the year, until the next summer. It was determined that the King and the lords should return to France; the provisions and stores be placed in store-houses; and that everything should remain ready for the spring. Charles was extremely indignant at this resolution, and the rage of the knights and esquires was unbounded, especially of those who came from distant countries, for every one expected to enrich himself in England; instead of which all their money was spent, and they were compelled to sell

[a] Froissart, II. 531.

[b] Walsingham, p. 354; Evesham, p. 76. The sailing of the expedition is not mentioned by Froissart, who merely says (II. 531) that many of the young lords of the blood-royal, in their impatience to proceed, had cruised off the port in their ships, intimating that they would be the first to arrive in England, if no others were there. The Monk of St. Denys (I. 459) notices the stormy weather, and adds that many vessels were wrecked.

their equipments for one-tenth of what they had cost.[a] Discontent and confusion prevailed throughout the army; all kinds of brigandage was committed in Flanders, Vermandois, and Picardy, the peasants flying before the soldiers as if they had been enemies. Even the churches were not spared; and such was the general disorder that priests could no longer be found to perform divine service or to administer the sacraments.[b] A. D. 1386.

Before Charles and his council quitted Sluys, they appointed officers to lay up the fleet and place it in safety; but the English did not allow them time (say the French writers, though the important fact is not mentioned by those of this country) to execute the order. As soon as the weather permitted the English ships to sail, they fell upon the enemy's vessels, and put some of them to flight; but they burnt or captured the greater part of the fleet, and carried off the stores, among which were two thousand tons of wine, which supplied the wants of England for a long period.[c] As soon as news that the expedition was broken up was brought to London, the joy was almost universal, and a great feast was given to those who had been employed in guarding the coast.[d]

While the enemy were only waiting for a fair wind to invade England, and when it might be supposed that the whole resources of the country and the cares of the government would have been concentrated on the defence of the realm, already weak-

[a] Froissart, II. 531, 532, 533.

[b] St. Denys, I. pp. 454, 455, 461.

[c] Chronique de St. Denys, I. 460. Des Ursins' (p. 58) words are still stronger:—"Et furent tous les navires peris par la tempeste de la mer, ou gagnez par les Anglois." Adding, that vessels laden with provisions and wines, to the amount of two thousand tons, were captured.

[d] Froissart, II. 533.

A. D. 1386. ened by the army that had been sent to Spain, it appears that Richard actually meditated an expedition October. to France. On the 1st of October Parliament met at Westminster; and the Earl of Suffolk, the chancellor, on opening the session, stated that the King had lately resolved to proceed in person abroad, to make war upon his enemies there; but, as his council did not think it right to consent without the further advice of his lords, Parliament had been summoned to consider the subject, and, if it were determined that the design should be carried into effect, to provide for the government of the realm in the King's absence. Suffolk then assigned four reasons for the expedition: first, that it would be less expensive to the people, if the war were carried on abroad than in England; secondly, that, as it had been said that the King would not serve in person, he, to prevent such slander, and being more under his own governance than formerly, had resolved to do so; thirdly, to pursue his right to the crown and realm of France; and, fourthly, to acquire honour and renown.[a] Suffolk then pointed out the necessity of an aid for the defence of the realm against the enemy, who were, he said, daily striving with all their might to come to England to destroy the country.[b] The Commons soon afterwards impeached the Earl of Suffolk (who had resigned the Great Seal on the 23rd of October) of various misdemeanours, among which was the misapplication of the money that had been granted for the safety of the sea;[c] but the King and the peers declared that he could not be impeached without

[a] "pur conquerre honour et humanité."

[b] Rot. Parl. III. 215.

[c] Ibid. p. 216.

impeaching also his colleagues in the council; and the Commons consented to a subsidy of three shillings on every ton of wine, and twelvepence a pound on other goods, for the defence of the sea and the protection of merchandize.[a] They also prayed, that, for the increase and maintenance of the navy, forty pence a ton might be allowed for the expenses of ships, and were informed that the King had referred the matter to his council.[b] A. D. 1386.

No sooner was the French expedition abandoned, than great murmurings were heard throughout England, the people, like their representatives in Parliament in 1377,[c] complaining of the decay of the national spirit, and comparing the former exploits in war with the present inertness. "What has become," they demanded, "of the great enterprises and valiant men of England? When King Edward was living, and the Prince his son, we were wont to go to France, and repulse our enemies in such fashion that they dared not fight us; and, if they did, they were defeated. What an exploit was that of the noble King Edward of good memory, when he arrived at Costentin in Normandy, and passed through the realm of France! and the fine battles and fine conquests which he won on his march! And then at Cressy he defeated King Philip and all the power of France; and, before he returned to England, took the town of Calais. Where are the knights or his children in England who could do such things? And the Prince of Wales, the son of this noble King, did he not take the King of France prisoner,

[a] Rot. Parl. III. 220.
[b] Ibid. p. 223.
[c] Vide p. 264, *ante*.

A.D. 1386. and defeat his power at Poictiers with the small force he had against King John? In those days the English were dreaded and feared, and they talked of us and of our chivalry all over the world; but now we must hold our peace, for they know not how to war except upon the purses of the good people. For this they are all ready enough! There is only a child for a king in France, and yet he gives us more to do than ever his predecessors have done. He has shewn great courage in wishing to come to this country. It was not his fault, but that of his people, that he did not attempt it. We have seen the time when, if such ships and vessels had appeared at Sluys, the good King Edward or his son would have gone there to fight them; but now the nobles of this country are all rejoiced that they have nought to do, and are left in peace: but us they leave not in peace nor quiet to get our money. We have seen the time when conquests were made by us in France, and we paid neither penny nor farthing that we felt at all; but the wealth of France returned to this country, and so abounded that all became rich."[a]

August. In August the King informed the seneschal of Aquitaine, that one Adam of York and his comrades had complained, that, after the ships laden with wine had left Bordeaux for England, his cog remained behind in the Gironde, and was attacked by a vessel of war with two hundred soldiers; that, after an action, Adam and his crew captured the vessel, and took one hundred and forty prisoners, which, as well as the ship, ought to be divided into three parts, one for the King, one for the mas-

[a] Froissart, II. 576.

ter and crew, and the other part for the Lord de Duras; but that, because one of Duras' esquires had received the faith and oath of the prisoners at the request of Adam of York and his men, Lord Duras had taken entire possession of the prize and prisoners, to the great injury of the complainants. The King, therefore, ordered full inquiry to be made into the matter, and commanded that justice should be done to the parties.[a] On the 28th of August directions were issued that all vessels going from England to Bordeaux for the vintage should assemble at Sandwich, and proceed together to Gascony, that they might be the better able to resist a large force which the French had fitted out to intercept them.[b] The command of the three fleets, north, south, and west, was vested in the Earl of Arundel on the 10th of December 1386;[c] and on the 22nd of that month the ships that were about to go from London to Middleburgh with wools and skins were forbidden to sail until they were all ready, when they were to proceed together, for mutual protection in case of being attacked.[d] A. D. 1386. December.

Soon after Christmas Sir William Beauchamp captured fourteen French vessels going to Sluys, one of which was laden with horse-shoes, another with wax torches and tapers, and the others with various stores for the expedition against England.[e]

Great efforts were made in the early part of the year 1387 to fit out an efficient fleet to drive the French from the coast of Sussex, on which they had A. D. 1387.

[a] Fœdera, VII. 540.
[b] Ibid. p. 543.
[c] Rot. Franc. 10 Ric. II. m. 18.
[d] Rot. Claus. 10 Ric. II. m. 19. d.
[e] Knyghton, col. 2692.

A. D. 1387. committed many devastations. The Earl of Arundel took pains in selecting his soldiers; and he is said to have rejected the tailors and cobblers of London and other places, who had been formerly enlisted.[a] Arundel was appointed the King's lieutenant in the expedition February. on the 26th of February;[b] and the fleet put to sea about March. the middle of March, on the 20th of which month prayers were ordered to be offered in all churches for its success.[c] Among other distinguished persons who served on that occasion, were the Earls of Nottingham and Devonshire.[d] Having obtained information that a large fleet of Flemish, French, and Spanish ships, belonging to the merchants of Hainault and Flanders, laden with wine, under the command of Sir John de Bucq, admiral of the Flemish sea, who had often injured the English, was on its passage from Rochelle to Sluys and the adjacent ports, Arundel took measures to intercept it. On Sunday the 24th of March, an archer, stationed in the top of the Admiral's ship, descried the Flemish fleet in the distance, consisting of one hundred sail of various sizes, which was laden with upwards of nineteen thousand tons of the rich wines of Gascony. Either to gain

[a] Walsingham, p. 355. The name of every banneret, knight, esquire, crossbow-man, gunner (of whom there were four), and archer, who served under the Earl of Arundel, "Chieftain and Admiral," the Earl of Devonshire, Sir John Arundel, and other barons and bannerets in that expedition, is on the roll "E. B. 1268." In many parts of that Roll the esquires are said to have been knighted on the day specified, and the death of the soldiers, with the names of their substitutes, are minutely stated. Another roll ("J. P. R. 117") shews that the Earl's retinue consisted of 15 bannerets, 100 knights, 884 men-at-arms, and 1500 archers. Froissart (II. 549) says, that one object of this armament was, to intercept the constable of France and his ships on their return from Sluys to Treguier in Brittany, but that he passed them in the night.

[b] Rot. Franc. p. 154.

[c] Fœdera, VII. 554.

[d] Froissart says the valiant Bishop of Norwich served in this fleet, but it is very doubtful.

the wind, or to draw the enemy nearer to the English shore, when they approached Arundel pretended to retreat; but the stratagem did not succeed, for the Flemings, who did not seek an engagement, steadily pursued their course. As soon, however, as the English found the wind in their favour, they suddenly rushed upon the enemy and furiously attacked them. After a hard action the Flemings were completely defeated; eighty ships were captured, and some that escaped being pursued, they were taken two days after the battle, and brought into the fleet. The prizes were sent to Orwell and other ports; and when the citizens of Middleburgh offered to purchase the wine, Arundel told them that it was fairer that those who had borne the expence of the expedition should enjoy it, namely, the Commons of England, than that others should obtain it at any price; "But," he generously added, "as ye are friends, and come from a distance, we will give you twenty tons, that ye may not return altogether empty-handed."[a] A. D. 1387 March.

Knyghton's account differs slightly from the preceding statement, as he says that the Earl of Arundel, after having captured fifty-six ships and sent them to England, followed and attacked the enemy and took seventy ships more, making in all one hundred and twenty-six sail, including the admiral of Flanders.[b]

Froissart's relation of this affair is animated and full of details. As soon as the Flemings perceived

[a] Walsingham, pp. 355, 356; Otterbourne, p. 166. Evesham (p. 77) states that more than a hundred vessels were captured.

[b] Knyghton, col. 2692. The Chronicle of London (p. 77), which was written in the fifteenth century, says, among the ships captured by the Earl of Arundel was "one ship called 'Mewes' or 'Mons. Colman,' and that ship was the admiral of Flanders'."

A. D. 1387. March. the English fleet, they prepared, though very unwillingly, for battle. Their ships were defended by seven hundred crossbow-men and archers, who got their bows and cannon ready. De Bucq wished, by making a running fight, to gain the coast of Flanders and escape into Dunkirk. Arundel commenced the attack with some galleys armed with archers, who shot volleys of arrows; but they fell harmless, as the crews sheltered themselves behind the bulwarks, while their ships ran before the wind; and their crossbowmen, being out of shot of the archers, wounded many on board the English galleys. At length Arundel, and the Bishop of Norwich, and other chiefs in their large ships came up, and rushed upon the enemy's vessels, "as sparrow-hawks pounce on small birds or doves;" but they were gallantly resisted by Sir John de Bucq's ship, which was well armed and carried three cannon, throwing such heavy stones that they pierced everything and did much damage. Meanwhile the merchant-ships carried a press of sail for their own coast, and some of them succeeded in getting into shoal water safe from pursuit. The battle was fiercely fought, and lasted during three tides, and many ships were sunk on both sides by sharp-pointed iron bolts, which were thrown from the tops of their opponents, and fell through their bottoms. When the ebb-tide made, the fleets separated and anchored, and both parties repaired their damage, and attended to their wounded. As soon as the flood set in, the two fleets weighed and made sail, and the combat was renewed with great vigour. Peter du Bois, of Ghent, who commanded a corps of archers in the English ships, particularly distinguished himself. Thus pursuing and

fighting, but the English always gaining the advantage, A. D. 1387. March.
they came between Blankenberg and Sluys opposite Cadsand, where the Flemings were defeated, for none came to their assistance. True it is, that an esquire of Sluys, called Arnold le Maire, when he heard of the battle, came in his own barge with some serjeants and twenty crossbow-men to the spot, but at that moment the greater part of the ships, and Sir John de Bucq, were taken, and he was chased back into Sluys. The ships that pursued him were, however, too large to follow his barge close to the shore, so that he escaped. Froissart does not give the number of the ships captured; but says, that, if the English had been aware of the condition of Sluys, they might easily have taken the town, which Du Bois urged them to attack. The Earl of Arundel endeavoured to burn the vessels in the harbour, by converting the smallest of his prizes into fire-ships, and letting them float with the tide into the port, but though they burnt fiercely, the attempt entirely failed. The English remained at anchor off Sluys for ten days, and employed their barges and galleys in landing troops on the opposite side of the river, where they burnt some towns and a monastery; after which the fleet returned to the Thames with about two hundred thousand francs' worth of property, and were joyfully received in London on account of the quantity of fine wines they brought with them, which were sold throughout England for fourpence a gallon. Sir John de Bucq died a prisoner on parole in England, three years after this event, every offer for his exchange or ransom having been refused.[a]

[a] Froissart, II. 549, 550, 551, 552. On the 7th of June 1387 the constable of the Tower was ordered to receive twenty prisoners, who had

A.D. 1387. The Earl of Arundel lost no time in refitting his fleet, and impressing men to replace those who had fallen or were wounded in the action, and then went to the relief of Brest. Having destroyed two fortifications which the enemy had erected against the castle, and stored it with provisions, the earl proceeded towards England, and on his passage captured several vessels; and he returned "with the blessings of all the people."[a] Knyghton then says, that before May. Arundel arrived in England he entered the port of Sluys, where he took some Scottish and Flemish ships, and laid waste the country for ten miles; that Sir Hugh le Despenser, wishing to go higher up the river, and the tide ebbing, his ship grounded, and, being made prisoner, he was taken to Paris; and that such had been the Earl of Arundel's success that about one hundred and sixty vessels richly laden were captured between the 25th of March and the 24th of June.[b]

French writers give a very different account of the capture of Sir Hugh Despenser.[c] They state that he

been taken on the sea by the Earl of Arundel and others. (Fœdera, VII. 556.) In January 1388, safe-conducts were granted to these prisoners to return home, that they might raise money to ransom themselves. (Rot. Franc. p. 157.) In December 1388, some Spanish prisoners, who had been taken at sea by Bernard Sely, were allowed to return home. Ibid. p. 159.

[a] Walsingham, p. 356; Elmham, p. 78; Knyghton, col. 2692, 2693.

[b] Knyghton, col. 2693.

[c] Knyghton appears to be the only English writer of the time who mentions the capture of Sir Hugh Despenser. That he was made prisoner in Flanders before December 1387 is proved by the following facts. On the 9th of December 1387, the sum of 98*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* was paid to Sir Hugh le Despenser, "lately taken in the war in Flanders by the French," being part of 200*l.* which the King had given him towards his ransom; and in January 1389, the King, at the request of the Earl of Nottingham, gave four hundred francs to John Merland, an esquire of Sir Peter Courtenay, who had been captured by the French while serving with Sir Hugh le Despenser at sea, in aid of his ransom. (Issue Roll 11 & 12 Ric. II., ed. Devon, pp. 234, 237.) Nothing is said of this knight in Dugdale's account of the house of Despenser; but he was probably the son of Sir Hugh le Despenser, who held lands in Yorkshire, Leicester

was twice taken, after severe actions, fought under precisely the same circumstances, and attended by the same results, once in 1382, and again in May 1387; but there can be little, if any, doubt that they have accidentally described the same event on two occasions. According to the Monk of St. Denys, four hundred Normans, who lived by piracy, put to sea from Harfleur, in May 1387, to attack a convoy of English vessels laden with merchandize. As they approached, cries of "To the death!" "To the death!" resounded on both sides, and they fell upon each other like wild beasts, fighting with blind rage and implacable fury; but the action did not last long, for, after exhausting their missiles, and losing two hundred men, killed or drowned, the English ships surrendered. Besides provisions of every kind, the Normans found such a large quantity of gold, silver, and silk stuffs in the prizes, that they were all enriched, and disgusted their countrymen by the ostentatious manner in which they used their spoils. After dividing their booty and confining their prisoners to be ransomed, they sent the commander of the English fleet, a descendant of the family of Spenser, to the King of France, who, yielding to the request of some lords, gave him his liberty, and sent him back to England without a ransom.[a] A. D. 1387. May.

and Northampton, and died in Lombardy in 1374, leaving by Alice, sister and heiress of Sir John Hotham, a son, Hugh, then eighteen years old, and who died without issue in 1401, when his sister Anne, wife of Edward Boteler, was his heir. (Esch. 48 Edw. III. no. 65; 3 Ric. II. no. 20; and 3 Hen. IV., no. 29). In February 1385 Sir Hugh Despenser was serving at sea, and in June 1389 he was lieutenant of the Earl of Huntingdon in Brittany. (Rot. Franc. pp. 148, 159.) His affinity to the great baronial family is shewn by his having borne the same arms differenced by a martlet. (Roll of Arms temp. Ric. II., ed. Willement, 4to. 1834, p. 15.)

[a] St. Denys, pp. 476—478. Under the year 1382 (tome I. 178—180) the Monk says, that the truce

A. D. 1387. Des Ursins repeats this statement, but adds, that the Normans attacked the English ships because they had nothing to do, and that guns were used in both fleets; and he calls the commander Sir Hugh Despenser.[a]

Extensive preparations were again made in France in the summer for the invasion of this country. Sir Oliver Clisson, the constable, intended to sail with four thousand men-at-arms, and two thousand archers; and three large and handsome ships, hocboats, barges, balingers, and galleys, for the expedition, were collected in that port. Another large fleet and army had assembled at Harfleur, under the Seigneur de Coucy, the Count de St. Pol, and Sir John de Vienne, admiral of France, with the same design, and also to oblige the Duke of Lancaster to withdraw from Castile.[b] One part of these armaments was intended to land at Dover, and the other at Orwell.[c]

with England having expired, and irritated by the proceedings of the English on the coast of France, the Normans left Harfleur, fought their enemies, killed two hundred men, and captured their commander, called Despenser; that there were no provisions in the prizes, but such a quantity of gold, silver, tapestry, and silk stuffs, that they were all enriched, and enjoyed their booty to satiety, passing their time in pleasure, and eclipsing the whole realm by their luxury and ostentation. With very trifling variations, Des Ursins (p. 25) relates the same facts under the same year; and, like the Monk of St. Denys, repeats them in 1387. Though there would be nothing improbable in Despenser's having been twice captured, it is in the highest degree unlikely that (with the slight difference of the ships having or not having provisions on board) the same number of men should have been killed; that the vessels should also have contained gold, silver, and rich stuffs; the Normans have displayed the same extravagance, and that Despenser should have been again sent to the French monarch, and have received the same generous treatment. It appears, therefore, that either the Monk or the Archbishop accidentally repeated the account of this affair, and that the other copied from him. Mons. Laboureur (Histoire de Charles VI. tome I. p. 50) adopts both narrations, without expressing the least suspicion of an error.

[a] Jean Juvenal des Ursins, pp. 60, 61.

[b] Froissart, II. 575, 576.

[c] Ibid. p. 578.

Orders were issued on the 14th and 26th of July to arrest ships in all the ports from Southampton to Mousehole, in Cornwall; and on the 3rd of August Sir Henry Percy, the renowned Hotspur,[a] was appointed captain of all the men-at-arms and archers in the fleet.[b] The enemy's preparations were, however, suddenly abandoned. John of Montfort, Duke of Brittany, wishing to serve England, arrested the constable of France, who was the spirit of the whole enterprise, and the Lord de Beaumanoir, and threw them into prison. The knights and esquires in the French ships hastened to the assistance of their lords; and the constable's arrest had such an effect upon De Coucy, St. Pol, and the other lords who were on the point of embarking at Harfleur, that they exclaimed, "Our expedition is at an end; let us hasten to Paris and learn what the king would have us do."[c] A. D. 1387 July. August.

After Hotspur had relieved the castle of Brest, he returned home, and lost several of his men in a storm during his passage.[d] The French having equipped a large fleet to attack the English ships going to Bordeaux, the bailiffs of the ports of London, Orwell, and Harwich were strictly enjoined on the 1st of October to oblige all the masters and mariners of vessels which were about to go to Gascony for wine, to proceed in their ships together within the Isle of Wight, and to place themselves under the orders of John Gedeney, constable of Bordeaux, who would make the necessary arrangements for their voyage.[e] On the 16th of the same month an embargo was laid upon ships and ba- October.

[a] See Walsingham, p. 350; Knyghton, 2696.
[b] Rot. Franc. p. 156; Knyghton, 2696.
[c] Froissart, II. 581, 583, 588.
[d] Knyghton, 2696.
[e] Fœdera, VII. 563.

A. D. 1387. lingers in the river Thames, and in most of the ports until further orders, from fear of the enemy; and the measure was repeated in February following.[a]

A. D. 1388. February. Three petitions relating to the Navy were presented to the King in the Parliament which met in February 1388, and which was mainly occupied with the attainders of the Duke of Ireland, the Earl of Suffolk, Chief Justice Tresillian, and others. The poor mariners of England stated that they had been long employed in the King's service at sea, and were ruined from not having received a "reward" besides their wages; that they had hitherto been paid only threepence a day, and sixpence a week for their "reward," which was wholly insufficient for their support; and they prayed for better payment. The King promised to do what seemed necessary, with the advice of the council. The ship-owners also complained that they had not received any "reward" or allowance for their ships or barges, with their apparel and instruments, and requested to have reasonable "reward" in future, or they could not, they said, maintain those vessels for his service without "reward." The answer was rather ambiguous:—"The King would willingly reward all those who had deserved it." At the same time the King was solicited to continue the allowance of three shillings and fourpence a ton-tight for the equipment of ships, armed at sea for the protection of merchants, considering that otherwise the navy could not in any manner exist long.[b]

May. A fleet was fitted out in the early part of the summer; and on the 12th of May the Earl of

[a] Rot. Claus. 11 Ric. II. m. 35. d. and m. 17. d.

[b] Rot. Parl. III. 253.

Arundel was re-appointed Admiral of England, and A. D. 138
was again made the King's lieutenant at sea.[a] He sailed for the coast of Brittany and Normandy, to assist the Duke of Brittany against the French, and had with him some balingers which could approach nearer to the land than other vessels.[b] After lying at anchor upwards of a month off the isle of Brehat, where the fleet obtained provisions, information was brought to Arundel that the Duke of Brittany had gone to Blois to meet the Dukes of Berry and Burgundy, who had persuaded him to go to Paris, where he had been so well received by the King of France, that every thing was satisfactorily settled between them. Surprised at this intelligence, the Earl of Arundel consulted with his principal commanders on their future proceedings, and it was determined to proceed to Rochelle and "do something there."[c] The fleet sailed with a fair wind, and coasting by Poitou and Saintonge, arrived at Marault, which they pillaged; and the next day, when the flood-tide began to make, the smaller vessels and barges, into which the armour was removed, rowed up the river with the whole of the troops, except a hundred men-at-arms and two hundred archers, who were left to defend the large ships, which drew too much water to advance beyond

[a] Rot. Franc. p. 157. The Earl of Arundel's muster-roll for this expedition, from the 11th of May to the 3rd of September 1388, and which is similar to the one before described, (vide p. 318, *ante*,) is marked "E. B. 1262."

[b] Froissart (II. 701) calls these light vessels "ecumeurs de mer." (Vide p. 161, *ante*.) "Et avoient en leur armée vaisseaux qu'on dit balleniers, qu'ecumeurs de mer par coutume ont volontiers, et qui approchent les terres de plus près que les autre vaisseaux ne font." Johnes (IX. 193) translates the passage: "There were in this fleet some light vessels called balingers, which are much used by corsairs, for, as they draw little water, they can the easier approach the shores."

[c] Froissart, II. 701.

A. D. 1388 the port. The armament anchored between Marault and Rochelle, where the troops landed, and several skirmishes took place.[a] After remaining near Rochelle about fifteen days, Arundel loaded his vessels with wine and fresh provisions, and put to sea. Off the coast he met twelve ships from Bayonne on their passage to England, and the two fleets sailed in company for some time. After giving the earl two pipes of wine "for the love they bore him," the Bayonnese pursued their voyage, and Arundel kept cruising in search of adventures.[b] He was soon after driven with twenty-seven sail into the harbour of La Palice, two leagues from Rochelle, by a gale; and the Lord de Sancerre, marshal of France, immediately ordered the inhabitants of Rochelle to go with six or eight galleys outside the port, while he attacked the English with his troops; but Arundel having fortunately gained intelligence of these proceedings, he disanchored, and quitted the harbour. The French galleys, which were provided with cannon and other artillery, arrived off La Palice just as the English were under sail, and chased them two miles, firing many shots; but, being afraid to pursue them farther at sea, they returned to Rochelle. Arundel then sailed for the Garonne, intending to go to Bordeaux.[c] The English fleet afterwards approached Carentan, but finding it too strong, the earl attacked Thorigny, eight leagues from that town, which he stormed and plundered, taking many prisoners and much booty, and then pillaged other places. After injuring Normandy to the amount of two hundred thousand francs, the English re-embarked,[d] and

[a] Froissart, II. 702, 703—705.
[b] Ibid. p. 705
[c] Froissart, II. 745, 746.
[d] Ibid. p. 754.

Arundel arrived at Winchelsea on the 3rd of September.[a] A. D. 1388. September.

The English chroniclers give a brief summary of the Earl of Arundel's proceedings:—He sought, they say, the enemy every where, and sunk, captured, or burnt eight ships. He attacked and took the islands of Bas, which he ravaged and set in flames, Le Rhé, Lemustre,[b] Rochelle, Olonne, and Oleron, "where the sea-laws were made."[c] From some of these places he extorted ransoms; others he burnt, putting the French and Bretons to flight; and having completed his affairs most happily, returned home.[d]

Immediately after Easter in 1389, a merchant of Dartmouth hired some Portuguese ships at his own cost, and captured thirty-two vessels laden with about fifteen hundred tons of Rochelle wine.[e] A. D. 1389. On the 18th of May John Earl of Huntingdon, the King's uterine brother, was appointed Admiral of the western fleet, and on the 20th of the same month John Lord Beaumont was made Admiral of the northern fleet;[f] but on the 31st of May the command of both fleets was given to Sir John Roches,[g] and on the 22nd of June the Earl of Huntingdon and Lord Beaumont were reappointed Admirals of the respective fleets.[h] May. June.

Hostilities with France were terminated by the treaty of Lenlingham, in June; and the truce having been prolonged from time to time, many years elapsed without the occurrence of any engagement at sea.[i]

[a] Muster Roll "E. B. 1262."

[b] *Query*, Les Moistres, a parish of Normandy, in the diocese of Coûtance?

[c] "ubi leges marinæ conduntur."

[d] Walsingham, p. 366; Evesham, p. 103; Otterbourne, p. 175.

[e] Knyghton, col. 2735.

[f] Rot. Franc. 12 Ric. II. m. 4.

[g] Ibid.

[h] Ibid. 13 Ric. II. m. 26.

[i] Fœdera, VII. 623—630.

A. D. 1389. Among the conservators of the truce were the two Admirals of the English fleets for the time being, and their lieutenants; as well as Sir John de Vienne, the admiral of France, and Robert de la Hogue, his vice-admiral and lieutenant.[a]

No reliance seems to have been placed on the permanence of the truce, for in the chancellor's speech
A. D. 1390. on opening Parliament, in January 1390, he said that
January. the realm was surrounded by enemies, of France, Spain, and Guienne on one side, and of Scotland and Ireland on the other; that it was uncertain whether the truce with France and Scotland, which was to last until August 1392, would be kept or not; that it was therefore necessary to provide in the meantime for the safety of the Scotch marches, Calais, Brest, and Cherbourg, as well as of Ireland and Guienne, for which and other purposes an aid was absolutely necessary.[b] In that Parliament the Commons complained that the Admirals had exceeded their power by holding courts in places beyond their jurisdiction, and prayed, that if the Admirals were convicted of such offences, they might be deprived of their offices and fined five hundred marks, and their deputies one hundred marks. The King declared it to be his pleasure that the Admirals and their deputies should not thenceforward interfere with any matters within the realm, but only with those on the sea, as had been done in the time of Edward the Third.[c] Some merchants and others having sold their ships to foreigners,

[a] Fœdera, VII. 629, 640.

[b] Rot. Parl. III. 258.

[c] Rot. Parl. III. 269, 270. This complaint was repeated in the next Parliament, and another ordinance was made on the subject. Ibid. pp. 291, 322. See also Statutes of the Realm, 13 Ric. II. stat. I. cap. V., and 15 Ric. II. stat. I. c. III.

belonging to countries in alliance with England, who had often resold them to the enemy, all owners of ships were strictly prohibited, on the 8th of June, from selling their vessels to any alien whatever without the King's licence, upon pain of forfeiting double their value; nor were they to exchange them covertly for goods or merchandize.[a] A. D. 1390. June.

Parliament again met on the 12th of November, when a measure was adopted for the encouragement and protection of the English Navy, which was more fully carried out two centuries afterwards by the celebrated "Navigation Laws." It was enacted that "all merchants of the realm of England shall freight in the said realm the ships of the said realm, and not foreign ships, so that the owners of the said ships may take reasonably for the freight of the same." It was also enacted that foreign merchants should be well, courteously, and rightfully used, that they might have the more inducement to come to England; and that no customer or comptroller, not having ships of his own, should meddle with the freightage of ships.[b] The Commons represented that in the last reign mariners were only entitled to eight shillings and the freight of one ton,[c] and the "master shipman" to sixteen shillings and the freight of two tons, at the most, for navigating ships from England to Bordeaux, and returning again; but that the mariners had entered into a confederacy not to serve in those ships without exorbitant wages, namely, the "master mariner" twenty-four shillings and a freight of three tons; while some demanded one November.

[a] Rot. Claus. 13 Ric. II. pt. 2, m. 4. d.

[b] Stat. 14 Ric. II. c. 6, 9, 10; Rot. Parl. III. 278, 281.

[c] Vide p. 203, *ante*.

A. D. 1390. November. hundred shillings and a freight of three tons; and that, nevertheless, the said mariners refused to proceed with English, but only with aliens, if there were any, to the great injury of shipowners, as well as of the navy of England. They therefore prayed that mayors and bailiffs of towns might have power to punish such mariners at the suit of any one who might be aggrieved, as in the time of Edward the Third. The King replied that he would charge his Admirals to oblige mariners to take reasonably for their services, and to punish those who acted contrarily.[a]

In this year a large army, composed of knights and esquires from France, England, Brittany, and other countries, was sent against the Tunisians.[b] The Genoese, having long suffered from the ships of the Barbary states which ruined their commerce, plundered their territories, and had carried off many of the people, determined to attack Tunis; and sent an embassy to the King of France for assistance. They proposed to find twelve thousand chosen bowmen and eight thousand foot-soldiers, and to furnish galleys and other vessels with biscuits, fresh-water, and vinegar, for all knights, esquires, and men-at-arms who would serve in the expedition, provided that one of Charles' uncles, or his brother the Duke of Touraine, commanded the army.[c]

As hostilities had ceased between England and France, many knights and esquires of those kingdoms, as well as of Brittany and Flanders, anxious to gain

[a] Rot. Parl. III. 283.

[b] Froissart says that Africa, a town on the eastern coast of Tunis, about seventy-five miles south-east from that city, was the object of attack; but all other writers say it was Carthage or Tunis.

[c] Froissart, III. 57.

military fame, and animated by religious enthusiasm to fight against infidels, joined the army, of which the Duke of Bourbon was made commander, having for his second the Lord de Coucy. None but gentlemen was permitted to serve; and among the volunteers was a natural son[a] of John of Gaunt, whom, from devotion, his father had sent in the voyage, attended by many English knights and esquires. The expedition sailed from Genoa on the 24th of June, and consisted of about one hundred and twenty galleys, and two hundred other vessels.[b] Off Elba the fleet was overtaken by a violent storm, which drove it into the Gulf of Lyons, and dispersed the ships. When the gale abated, the vessels proceeded to the isle of "Coumières," or "Comminières," which was the place of rendezvous;[c] and after nine days the fleet was collected and sailed for Africa.[d] A. D. 13

The account given of the expedition by other contemporary writers differs, however, in many and important particulars from Froissart's narrative. The

[a] Probably Sir John Beaufort, afterwards Earl and Marquis of Dorset. Johnes calls him "Henry," but Henry Beaufort was an ecclesiastic, and became the celebrated cardinal. The Polychronicon (p. 322) says that "out of Englonde went the Erle of Alby, a valyaunt man, with certain archers," in this expedition; meaning, probably, the Earl of Derby, afterwards King Henry the Fourth, who, according to the Monk of St. Denys (I. 649) and Des Ursins (p. 80), served on that occasion; but the earl was at that time making war on the pagans in Prussia. See his Household Accounts, cited in Beltz's Memorials of the Order of the Garter, p. 239.

[b] The representation of this fleet, which occurs in the illuminated copy of Froissart's Chronicles in the Harleian manuscript 4379, f. 115, forms the frontispiece of the first volume of this work; but it is evident, from the appearance of the ships, and especially from their having three masts, that the drawing was not made before the reign of Henry the Sixth.

[c] Froissart, III. 57—60. "Commières" is supposed to have been the small isle of Comino, between Malta and Gozo, but this is very unlikely. Froissart says the island was thirty miles from Africa, whereas Comino is upwards of one hundred and eighty miles distant.

[d] Froissart, III. 80.

A. D. 1390. Monk of St. Denys, whose statements on this as on most other occasions appear to have been copied by Des Ursins, says, that in less than a month the Duke of Bourbon raised an army of fifteen hundred knights and esquires and a number of cross-bowmen, including many brave English knights under the Earl of Derby; that they embarked at Marseilles, and proceeded to Genoa; that the fleet consisted of eighty ships and galleys, and had a thousand cross-bowmen and two thousand men-at-arms, besides four thousand sailors; that it was commanded by an experienced seaman called John de Outremarins; that, according to ancient custom, and to ensure success, the ships were blessed by the priests; that after the fleet had been a month at sea, exposed to storms or contrary winds, it was obliged to diverge from its course, and take shelter in Sardinia, where the troops disembarked to refresh themselves; that the very day they sailed from that island a frightful gale came on, which dispersed the ships and threw all on board them into despair; that the captains having desired the soldiers and crews to invoke the Lord, and every one being at prayer, the wind suddenly became favourable, and they proceeded to Carthage; and that the English, whose archers fought boldly, were the first to land.[a]

A. D. 1391. March. In February 1391 shipping were impressed to carry troops to Ireland;[b] and on the 22nd of March Edward Earl of Rutland, afterwards Duke of Albemarle and York, eldest son of the Duke of York, and grandson of Edward the Third, was appointed Admiral of the

[a] Chronique de St. Denys, i. 649, 657; Des Ursins, i. 80, 81. M. Laboureur has adopted the statements of these writers in preference to those of Froissart. The Polychronicon also says that the expedition was sent against Tunis.

[b] Rot. Pat. 14 Ric. II. p. 2, m. 28.

northern fleet;[a] and the command of the western fleet having been given to him in November following,[b] he became Admiral of England. Ships were ordered on the 5th of September to be arrested for the passage of the Duke of Gloucester to Prussia,[c] who was going to serve in the crusade against the pagans of Lithuania, and he put to sea; but after being driven by a storm on the coast of Denmark and Norway, he succeeded in reaching Northumberland, and then abandoned his voyage, to the great satisfaction of the people.[d] A. D. 1391. September.

The statute[e] compelling English merchants to freight ships of this country, not having been properly observed, the Commons petitioned the King, in November, that inasmuch as the Navy of England was greatly weakened and impaired,[f] no English merchant might put goods or merchandize in a foreign vessel, in any place where they could freight English ships, upon pain of forfeiting the goods shipped in foreign vessels; "as," the Commons emphatically added, "a work of charity and for the maintenance and increase of the navy of England." The King replied, "Let the statute thereupon made be kept and observed;"[g] a command which, it may be hoped, will be repeated by every Sovereign of England, if ever it be attempted, by repealing the Navigation Laws, to destroy the prosperity and power of Britain. November.

In February and March 1392 an array was made of A. D. 1392.

[a] Rot. Franc. 14 Ric. II. m. 3.
[b] Ibid. 15 Ric. II. m. 7.
[c] Rot. Franc. p. 164.
[d] Walsingham, p. 379. An account of the Duke of Gloucester's voyage to Prussia is printed by Hackluyt, vol. I. p. 123.
[e] Vide p. 331, *ante*.
[f] "qe pur ceo qe la Navye d'Engleterre est tres grandement amenuse et empiere."
[g] Rot. Parl. III. 296.

A. D. 1392. all the fighting-men in the kingdom, to defend the realm in case of invasion.[a] On the 30th of August
A. D. 1393. 1393, Matthew Swetenham and Nicholas Macclesfield were appointed Admirals of Ireland.[b]

A. D. 1394. In June 1394, persons were appointed to fit out the King's ship called the "George," Sir Thomas Percy's ship called the "Trinity," and another ship of the same name belonging to Roger Bosewyn of Plymouth, then lying in the Thames, for the King's passage to Ireland; and they were authorized to impress carpenters to repair, as well as sailors to man, those vessels.[c] A general arrest of shipping took place in the autumn for
August. the same purpose.[d] On the 2nd of August a mandate was sent to Sir John Beauchamp, warden of the Cinque Ports, which recited the service the ports owed to the crown, and stated that, as the King had commanded a large fleet to be prepared for his voyage to Ireland, he was to cause the barons, with their ships and mariners, to be at Bristol by the 14th of September.[e] Early in September, all ships, barges, balingers, and other vessels in the ports of the westward counties, except those from the northern parts which had been appointed to proceed with the Duke of Lancaster to Bordeaux,[f] were ordered to be sent to Milford with all possible

[a] Rot. Claus. 15 Ric. II. m. 22. d.; Rot. Patent. 15 Ric. II. p. 2, m. 6, 7. d.

[b] Rot Pat. 17 Ric. II. pt. 1, m. 25.

[c] Rot. Patent. 17 Ric. II. pt. 2, m. 6. In August the comptroller of the household was empowered to impress as many fishermen, with their boats, nets, and other implements, in any part of England, as might be necessary to supply the royal establishment with fish while the King was in Ireland. Ibid. 18 Ric. II. p. 1, m. 9. d.

[d] Rot. Patent. 18 Ric. II. m. 38. d., m. 13. d., m. 9. d., m. 8. d. As a specimen of the indentures between the officers appointed to arrest ships and the masters, a copy of the agreement with the master of a ship of Looe to serve with his vessel on that occasion will be found in the APPENDIX. Various accounts relating to the expedition are in the Rolls "T. G. 3242, 11,072;" "J. P. R. 6144, 6752."

[e] Fœdera, VII. 784.

[f] Froissart (III. 197) says the Duke of Lancaster embarked at Plymouth.

haste for the King's passage.[a] Richard embarked at A. D. 1394.
Haverford West, and arrived in Ireland about the 1st of October,[b] accompanied by the Duke of Gloucester, the Earls of March and Nottingham, and by the Earl of Rutland,[c] the Admiral of the fleet, with an army of four thousand men-at-arms and thirty thousand archers.[d]

In January 1395, ships were impressed for the pas- A. D. 1395.
sage of the Duke of Gloucester, Henry Lord Percy, Lord Grey of Codnor, and other personages to Ireland,[e] with their men-at-arms and archers. The northern coast of England was in this year harassed by some Danish pirates, who robbed sailors, and particularly the inhabitants of Norfolk, some of whom they put to death, ransomed others, and levied contributions or carried off property to the value of 20,000*l.*[f] In May

[a] Fœdera, VII. 789, 790.

[b] Walsingham (p. 388) and Otterbourne (p. 184) state that the King went to Ireland about the feast of the nativity of our Lady, the 8th of September; and Evesham (p. 126) says that Richard began his voyage towards Ireland about the feast of St. Matthew, *i. e.* the 21st of September: but the appointment of the Duke of York as custos of the realm, and other instruments, were dated at Haverford on the 29th of that month, and on the 1st of October the Duke tested a writ at that place as custos of England Fœdera, VII. 790, 791.

[c] Walsingham, p. 389; Evesham, p. 126.

[d] Froissart, III 197, who says that the troops were shipped at Bristol and Holyhead.

[e] Rot. Pat. 18 Ric. II. pt. 1, m. 2. d.

[f] Walsingham, p. 389. Southey (I. 415) contends that these vessels were Vitalians, "under which dignified appellation northern historians have rendered either the homely name of messmates, as assumed by the sea-rovers themselves, or of victuallers, as given them by the people upon whom they foraged; and perhaps because they professed at first to seize food for the purpose of victualling Stockholm, which was at that time besieged by the Danes. These are the only pirates since the days of the Vikingr, who were openly encouraged, and, indeed, raised by a regular government. The Duke of Mecklenberg caused it to be proclaimed at Rostock, that all who chose to fit out ships, and make war by sea and by land upon Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians, subjects of the great Queen Margaret, should have the use of his ports, and find there free market for their plunder." Southey (I. 416—418) then relates, on the authority of the northern historians, various acts of these pirates for ten years, until they were subdued by a squadron fitted out by Hamburgh for that purpose.

A. D. 1395. the King returned from Ireland; and about Christmas the Duke of Lancaster came back from Gascony.[a]

A. D. 1396. On the 18th of June 1396, the Cinque Ports were commanded to prepare their ships for the King's passage to Calais, and to send them to Dover by the 1st of August;[b] and other vessels and sailors were impressd for the same purpose in all the ports on the 30th of that month.[c] Richard landed at Calais with a splendid retinue on the 7th of August; and on the 10th of November was married to Isabel, daughter of Charles the Sixth of France.[d] The King and Queen arrived in London on the 23rd of November; but some of the vessels, containing valuable arras and other things belonging to the royal household, foundered on their passage.[e]

A. D. 1398. On the 2nd of February 1398, John Marquis of Dorset, the King's half-brother, was made Admiral of the Irish fleet for life; and on the 9th of May he was appointed Admiral of the northern and western fleets also for life. Both of his commissions contained clauses forbidding him to exercise any authority contrary to the statute passed in the year 1391 for regulating the jurisdiction of Admirals.[f] Notwithstanding the grant of the Admiralty of Ireland to the Marquis of Dorset for life, the Earl of Worcester was

[a] Knyghton, col. 2742.

[b] Fœdera, VII. 834.

[c] Rot. Franc. p. 172; Ibid. 20 Ric. II. m. 12.

[d] Evesham, p. 128.

[e] Evesham, p. 129; Otterbourne, pp. 186, 187.

[f] Rot. Pat. 21 Ric. II. pt. 3, m. 23. This patent is stated to have been surrendered and cancelled on the 8th of May 1407, because Edmund Earl of Kent was then made Admiral of the northern, western, and Irish fleets; but many persons had been appointed Admirals of the northern and western fleets between 1398 and 1407, and it appears that Sir Thomas of Lancaster in 1405, and the Earl of Somerset in 1406, commanded all the fleets.

appointed Admiral of the Irish fleet on the 16th of January 1399.[a] A. D. 1399.

Early in 1399, Richard having resolved to proceed again to Ireland against the rebels, vessels carrying twenty-five tons and upwards were ordered on the 7th of February to be arrested on the north coast, and sent to Bristol or Milford by the octaves of Easter for the King's voyage.[b] He arrived at Milford on the 19th of May, but being detained there by a foul wind, he did not embark until the 30th, and within two days landed at Waterford.[c] Such was the distress of Richard's army, that his troops would have starved, had not three ships arrived from Dublin with provisions; and the soldiers, in their eagerness to obtain food, rushed through the sea to the vessels.[d]

About the 4th of July[e] the Duke of Lancaster sailed from Boulogne,[f] and appeared off the north coast of England with eight small ships and two passagers. He sent a boat on shore with some men, who planted his

[a] Rot. Pat. 22 Ric. II. pt. 2, m. 16.

[b] Rot. Pat. 22 Ric. II. pt. 3. m. 35. d. The Rolls "T. G. 2141, 10,979," and "W. N. 656," contain the expences of ships in this expedition: see the APPENDIX.

[c] Metrical History of the Deposition of Richard the Second, edited by the Rev. John Webb, Archæologia, vol. xx. pp. 21, 22; Chronique de la Traison et Mort de Richard Deux, Roy Dengleterre, edited by Benjamin Williams, Esq. (8vo. 1846, published by the English Historical Society,) pp. 27, 28. Several representations of ships illustrate the Metrical History, and are engraved in the Archæologia, vol. xx. pp. 36, 61, 75. Those ships seem to have been cogs. They have each one mast, one sail, and a bowsprit; the rudder is at the stern, and in one of the vessels a curved tiller appears through a hole in the stern: though there is a bulwark at the bow and stern, the ships do not seem to have had castles. The sail of the ship in which Richard returned from Ireland is adorned with a large sun.

[d] Metrical History, ed. Webb, pp. 36, 304. A graphic representation of this scene forms one of the illuminations of the MS. Vide Archæologia, xx. p. 36.

[e] About the feast of the translation of St. Martin, *i. e.* 4th July. (Walsingham, p. 397; and Otterbourne, p. 203.) Evesham (p. 151) says about the feast of St. John the Baptist, *i. e.* the 24th of June.

[f] Otterbourne, p. 201.

A. D. 1399. July. banner on the land and returned to their ship. A fisherman seeing the banner, ran to it, but was unable to account for its appearance, though he saw the ships in the offing. The Duke then caused the man to be told that he was to acquaint the town's-people with his arrival, who hastened to the place, and cried out, "Our Lord the Duke of Lancaster is come for his rightful inheritance!" Eight thousand people soon collected, who, with one voice, called to the Duke to come on shore, and take his own inheritance, and they would receive him as their lawful Lord. Lancaster thereupon landed at Ravenspur[a] and proceeded to Pomfret Castle.[b] As soon as the King heard of this event, he determined to return with his army to England, and arrived at Milford[c] on the 13th of August.[d]

On the 29th of September Richard resigned the crown, and HENRY THE FOURTH became King of England.

[a] Walsingham (p. 397) and Otterbourne (p. 203) say the Duke of Lancaster landed between Hull and Bridlington, where few had ever landed before. Evesham, p. 151.

[b] Le Chronique (ed. Williams, pp. 33, 34, 41) states that Henry landed in August.

[c] Otterbourne, p. 206; Metrical History, pp. 75, 321. Evesham (p. 149) says that Richard landed at the castle of Hardlagh about the feast of St. James, *i. e.* the 25th of July.

[d] Le Chronique, (ed. Williams,) p. 46.

CHAPTER V.

ACCESSION OF HENRY THE FOURTH. — THE NAVY ORDERED TO ASSEMBLE AT SANDWICH. — GENERAL ARRAY AGAINST INVASION. — THE ENGLISH HARASS THE FRENCH COAST. — SHIPS SENT TO BRITTANY FOR THE QUEEN. — PIRATICAL PROCEEDINGS. — AN ENGLISH SQUADRON DEFEATED OFF BRITTANY. — DESCENT OF BRETONS AND NORMANS UPON PLYMOUTH. — AN ENGLISH SQUADRON BURN ST. MATTHEW. — THE FRENCH LAND IN THE ISLE OF WIGHT. — ISLE OF PORTLAND RAVAGED. — THE FRENCH LAND AT DARTMOUTH, AND ARE DEFEATED. — SEVERAL ENGLISH SHIPS TAKEN. — CAPTURE OF PRINCE JAMES OF SCOTLAND. — EXPEDITION TO SLUYS. — FIGHT WITH A CARACK. — SHIPS CAPTURED BY LORD BERKELEY. — HOSTILE PROCEEDINGS OF THE FRENCH AND SPANIARDS ON THE ENGLISH COAST. — MERCHANTS UNDERTAKE TO GUARD THE SEA, AND APPOINT TWO ADMIRALS. — FRENCH AND SPANISH GALLEYS FIGHT SOME ENGLISH SHIPS. — JERSEY ATTACKED. — ACTION BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH SHIPS DURING THE SIEGE OF BOURG. — EXPEDITION TO BRITTANY, AND THE EARL OF KENT SLAIN. — TRUCE WITH FRANCE. — HENRY PREPARES FOR AN EXPEDITION TO GUIENNE. — HIS DEATH.

THE reign of KING HENRY THE FOURTH was distinguished by the remarkable fact, that though England was never actually at war, the Country was for several years in such constant hostility with France, that the ships and shores of the two countries were continually attacked, the people plundered, prisoners taken, and vessels captured. At Henry's accession only a few years of the long truce had expired, and though Charles would not listen to propositions for peace or alliance, he pledged himself to maintain the truce, because he would not act contrary to his oath and to good faith;[a] but war was never-

A. D. 1399. September.

[a] Fœdera, VIII. 174.

A.D. 1399 theless daily expected. In the deposition of Richard, Charles not only felt indignant at the success of an usurper, but he had the wrongs of a father-in-law to resent; and the bitterest enmity was felt by the French court against his successor. Both monarchs pretended to forbid the belligerent proceedings of their subjects, but they secretly approved, if they did not encourage them; and Henry was justly irritated by the support which the French openly afforded to the Welsh and other rebels in their attempts to dethrone him. A truce subsisted, therefore, only in name; and never were a greater number of hostile acts committed by the French and English upon each other, within the same period of time, than during the six years after Henry came to the throne. As there was no regular war, the descent upon the coasts and the capture of the ships of the two countries are not improperly called by French writers acts of piracy; and they do not fail to represent the English as the aggressors.

There is more than ordinary difficulty in relating the Naval events of this reign. Some transactions, though unnoticed by English, are fully detailed by French writers; while others, which are not mentioned by the French, find a place in English chronicles; and, where an affair is described by writers of both countries, there is often so much variation in their narratives, that it is doubtful if they could be speaking of the same matter. Monstrelet, for example, has converted several events into one; and, on the other hand, one transaction may, from being described in a different manner and assigned to a different date by different writers, appear to be two distinct events.

The canons of historical criticism require that the authority relied upon shall be contemporary, and, therefore, likely to have known what is stated; but the writers alluded to were alike contemporaries, and one of them—the Spanish Standard-bearer—ought, according to those canons, to be considered the most trustworthy, for he says he saw or heard what he relates; yet he is, perhaps, the most apocryphal of them all. When the various statements differ so much from each other that they cannot be incorporated, it will be proper to give one or both versions, if the subject be important: and this is the more necessary, because national feelings seem to have influenced the recorders on both sides, and there are now no means of ascertaining their veracity. It is safer to insert what may be erroneous, than to suppress what may be true. A. D. 1399.

On opening the Parliament, in October, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the chancellor, after noticing the deposition of Richard, said that this honourable realm of England, which is the most abundant "angle" of riches throughout the world, had for a long time been governed by children and the advice of widows,[a] whence it was on the point of perdition, and exposed to great desolation and the most grievous mischief, had not God almighty, of his grace and mercy, placed a wise and discreet man to govern the realm.[b] The only Naval proceedings in that Parliament were a repetition of the request that merchants should not freight foreign ships if any English vessels were in the ports;[c] and a representation by the Commons of the loss of shouts on the Thames as deodands, in case "the October.

[a] "vefves;" meaning, probably, old women.

[b] Rot. Parl. III. 415.

[c] Vide pp. 331, 335, *ante*.

A. D. 1399. November. breaking of a cable, rope, sprit, or mast" caused the death of any one.[a] On the 20th of November, Thomas Earl of Worcester was made Admiral of the northern and western fleets, as well as Admiral of the Irish fleet.[b]

A. D. 1400. February. A Great Council met on the 9th of February 1400, to consider the state of affairs. As a war with France seemed highly probable, and as the Scots, who had lately invaded the realm, burning and laying waste the country, intended with the assistance of France to attack the marches, it was necessary to adopt measures for the defence of the kingdom, as well as for the safeguard of Calais and of the sea. Money was indispensable for these purposes, and, to avoid imposing a tax on the people, always an unpopular, and in Henry's critical position perhaps a dangerous act, each of the spiritual lords agreed that a tenth should be levied upon his property; and some of the temporal peers undertook to support, at their own expence, a certain number of men-at-arms and archers by land; while the Lords Lovell, Berkeley, Powys, Camois, Saint John, Burnell, Roos, and Willoughby were each to find a ship with twenty men-at-arms and forty archers, besides the crew. The Lords Roos and Willoughby promised, moreover, to serve the King by land; and the Lords Fitzwalter, Darcy, and Saint Maur agreed to defray the expense of half a ship each, with ten men-at-arms and twenty archers.[c] Henry ordered the navy to assemble at Sandwich as soon as possible;[d] and a little vessel, called the "Ka-

[a] Rot. Parl. III. 444.

[b] Rot. Patent. 1 Hen. IV. p. 3, m. 29.

[c] Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council, vol. I. pp. 103, 104.

[d] Ibid. p. 109.

therine of Guernsey," was sent to sea to look out for A. D. 1400.
the fleet of the King's ships and smaller vessels, pursuant to the Council's directions.[a]

The French had in the meantime collected so large a fleet, and made such other preparations for hostilities, that commands were issued in January, March, and April for a general array of soldiers and of the April.
clergy, because the enemy meant to invade the realm, destroy the King and the people by sea and land, and "to subvert the English Church."[b] On the 18th of May Henry declared his intention to observe the May.
truce,[c] though his embassies to France had failed; and in June ships, balingers, and barges of war were forbidden to molest the French or any other of the King's allies except only the Scots, who had long broken the truce, and committed various aggressions upon England.[d]

About this time some galleys and merchants of Venice arrived at London, who were passing the money which they had brought with them at a higher rate than was legal. On the 14th of June the King June.
wrote to his Council on the subject from Clipstowe, being then on his route to Scotland; and it appears from his letter that the enemy, probably the Scots, had many vessels at sea which interrupted the coasting trade. After desiring that the Venetians might be well treated, but that the laws should be enforced, Henry said, that with respect to the Venetian galley which had been left at Plymouth, it was to come to London if the merchants pleased; but, as he had been

[a] For this service her master was paid sixty shillings. Issue Roll, Michaelmas, 1 Hen. IV.

[b] Fœdera, VIII. 123, 138.

[c] Ibid. p. 142.

[d] Ibid. p. 147.

A. D. 1400. informed that some vessels of the enemy were at sea, which would not allow the galley nor any other merchant-ship to proceed to London, the Council were requested to fit out his new ship and the best of the other vessels in the port of London, to protect the seas
July. from the enemy.[a] In July Richard Clyderow was directed to superintend the equipment and passage of the ships, barges, balingers, and crayers that were loading at London with stores and provisions for the army in Scotland, which vessels were to have men-at-arms, archers, and mariners, for their defence, at the King's wages.[b] The King had about this time proceeded in person against the Scots, and most of the sea-ports having sent their ships, barges, and balingers, well armed with soldiers and archers, to assist the army, the inhabitants of Bristol and of sixteen other places were
August. commanded, on the 22nd of August, to do the same, authority being given them to retain for their own use whatever they might capture from the enemy.[c]

A. D. 1401. January. The hostile demonstrations of the French, who had prepared a large army and fleet to invade the realm, caused instructions to be sent to the sea-ports and many other cities and towns, on the 11th of January 1401, to build a barge or a balinger each for the defence of the sea, and to have them ready by the middle of April.[d] But when Parliament met on the 20th of January, the Commons protested against such commands having been issued without their consent, saying that it had never before been done; and they requested that the orders might be recalled. Henry, fearful of displeas-

[a] Proc. Privy Council, I. 120.

[b] Rot. Scot. II. 153.

[c] Rot. Claus. 1 Hen. IV. pt. 2, m. 6.

[d] Fœdera, VIII. 172.

ing the Commons, did not, as he might have done, A. D. 1401. dispute the accuracy of their assertion, and complied with their petition; but he proposed, in consequence of the great want of such vessels for the defence of the realm, in case war broke out, to consult with the Lords and afterwards to obtain the advice of the Commons on the subject.[a] The Commons also desired that the statute relating to the jurisdiction of the Court of Admiralty might be observed, and that no Admiral nor his lieutenant should hold pleas contrary thereto, under a penalty of 20*l*. The statute was ordered to be kept; and some additional regulations were made for the benefit of those who might be aggrieved.[b]

On the 26th of April Richard Lord Grey of Cod- April. nor was made Admiral of the northern, and Sir Thomas Rempston Admiral of the western fleet.[c] Early in June Sir Henry Percy, who was employed against the rebels in Wales, reported to the Council that Owen Glendower had been defeated by Lord Powys, and also that the people whom he had sent to sea had retaken a ship from the Scots at Bardesay; and that they had chased a Scottish ship from that place to the coast of Milford, where they captured her, together with thirty-five well-armed men, "for which," Hotspur piously adds, "I thank God."[d] On the 8th of June Henry repeated his orders for his Admirals to sail with their fleets, well armed with soldiers and archers, to guard the seas, and prevent the enemy from injuring his realm and subjects.[e]

Arrangements for the return of Queen Isabel, the

[a] Rot. Parl. III. 458.
[b] Ibid. p. 472; stat. 2 Hen. IV. c. XI.
[c] Rot. Pat. 1 Hen. IV. p. 3, m. 24, 33.
[d] Proc. Privy Council, I. 153.
[e] Ibid. II. 56.

A. D. 1401. young widow of Richard the Second, to France, occupied much of the Council's attention in May and June. The Cinque Ports were directed on the 22nd of June. June to provide three balingers, with the requisite sailors to row and pull[a] them in default of wind, and three barges properly armed and equipped for her passage from Dover to Calais, by the 1st of July.[b] On the 20th of August the King made a singular present to the Archbishop of Canterbury, by giving him his balinger, called the "Anne of the Tower."[c] In this year the town of Hythe obtained a remission of five ships, one hundred men, and five boys, which, as one of the Cinque Ports, it owed to the King, for the next five occasions on which they might be required, in consideration of certain houses having been lately burnt, with property worth 600*l.*, of a pestilence which was then raging there, and of five ships belonging to that place, with a hundred men on board, having been lost in a storm at sea.[d]

A. D. 1402. Henry's eldest daughter, the Princess Blanch, had been contracted to Louis Duke of Bavaria, and ships March. were ordered to be prepared in March 1402, and sent to Orwell for her passage.[e] The constant appearance of French ships on the coast rendered it again necessary, in July and August, to array the inhabitants and clergy for the defence of the country.[f] It was not the probability of danger only that the government had to guard against, for the French and other enemies had landed and ravaged the coast of Essex, in consequence of which proceedings the inhabitants of East Tilbury

[a] "rower et vogger."
[b] Fœdera, VIII. 205; Proc. Privy Council, I. 142.
[c] Roll "E. B. 1268."
[d] Rot. Patent. 2 Hen. IV. p. 3. m. 22.
[e] Rot. Claus. 3 Hen. IV. p. 1, m. 3.
[f] Fœdera, VIII. 270.

were permitted to fortify their town.[a] These aggres- A. D. 1402
sions were, however, justified by the conduct of the English on the coast of France. "The English pirates," says the Monk of St. Denys, discontented with the truce and unwilling to abandon their profitable pursuits, determined to infest the seas and attack merchant-ships. Three thousand of the most skilful sailors of England and Bayonne had confederated for that purpose, and, as was supposed, with the approbation of their King, who entertained a high opinion of their courage and ability; for one day, asking his consort what she thought would happen if they went to Brittany, and the Queen answering that they would doubtless be repulsed, Henry observed, "Don't be afraid, my love, the sailors will not fear to engage the Bretons and French."[b]

From July in this, to September in the following year, these pirates, he says, incessantly harassed the French coast. Among other acts they landed in the isle of Rhé, which they ravaged with fire and sword, burnt a celebrated abbey, and extorted heavy ransoms from the inhabitants. They then sailed towards Picardy, and carried off a hundred poor fishermen to the isle of Thanet, whose captivity, the Monk says, made fish extremely dear during Advent and Lent. Having with difficulty obtained Charles's permission to retaliate, the French ran along the coast of England, and fought several actions with their enemies, in which they were sometimes successful and sometimes beaten. An esquire called Imbert de Sertin particularly distinguished himself in protecting the shores of Picardy for three years, during which

[a] Rot. Patent. 3 Hen. IV. pt. 2, m. 7.

[b] St. Denys, III. 52.

A. D. 1402. time he often triumphed gloriously over his foes; but fortune at length declared against him. Finding himself on one occasion surrounded, he fought nobly for three days, killing many of his assailants, and then took to his oars with the hope of escaping, though his sails were split and his rigging broken; but a gale suddenly coming on, his ship was thrown upon a rock, and went to pieces, and the gallant De Sertin with all his companions perished.[a]

September. Parliament met in September, when the complaints against the Admiralty court were renewed.[b] The King had been contracted in April to Joan of Navarre, widow of John Duke of Brittany; and towards the end of the year Henry Bishop of Lincoln, and the Earls of Somerset and Worcester, and some other peers, were sent with a small squadron[c] to bring the Queen to England. They embarked about the 27th

November. or 28th of November, but were forced back into Plymouth; and their letter to the Council from that place on the 9th of December is of some interest. After saying that they had been eleven days at sea, and were within sight of Brittany, when contrary winds obliged them either to enter the Spanish sea[d] or to return to England, and that they had with great difficulty reached Plymouth, the ambassadors complained that no arrangements had been made for paying the wages of the crews of their ships; and said that had

[a] Le Chronique de Saint Denys, III. 52. It was probably this person whom Monstrelet (cap. XII. p. 25) calls "Gilbert Fretin," and who, he says, refused to swear fealty to the King of England, and, filling two vessels with soldiers, did much mischief.

[b] Rot. Parl. III. 499, 502.

[c] The Earl of Arundel, who furnished a ship and a balinger for the Queen's passage, was paid 27*l.* 8*s.* for the wages for thirty-six mariners to man them. Fœdera, VIII. 285.

[d] This appears to be the usual designation of the Bay of Biscay.

not most of the lords either paid, or undertaken to pay them for fifteen days, they would not have quitted their ports; that though the term was short, they intended to sail the moment the wind permitted; but if it happened that the Queen were not ready to embark, or that the wind prevented their going within that time, the voyage might be perilled from want of those payments. They said they would proceed with the first wind, leaving vessels to bring them the Council's answer; but should be obliged to remain some time in Brittany, as ships could not in bad weather approach the place where the Queen was, and it would therefore be necessary to wait for her at Crowdon. Joan embarked at Camaret on the 13th of January 1403, intending to proceed to Southampton; but after a boisterous passage of five days, she was obliged to land at Falmouth.[a] A. D. 1402.

It is evident that numerous acts of piracy were committed about this period; for on the 19th of December fourteen persons of Plymouth or Cornwall, all apparently mariners, among whom was Henry Pay, the most celebrated freebooter of his time, were summoned before the Council to answer the complaint of the King of Castile, that they had taken ships and goods belonging to his subjects, contrary to the truce; and a few weeks afterwards John Hauley of Dartmouth, and seventeen men belonging to Dovor, Fowey, Portsmouth, Hull, and Rye, one of whom is described as the master of a barge, were directed to attend the Council to reply to the statements of certain Flemings.[b] December.

The English sustained a complete defeat in July A. D. 1403.

[a] Proc. Privy Council, I. 190. [b] Rot. Claus. 4 Hen. IV. m. 31.

A. D. 1403. July. 1403, off Brittany, the particulars of which must be taken from French writers, because the affair is not mentioned by those of this country. For many months the coast of France was, as has been already observed, pillaged by English vessels, which had repeatedly returned to their own country laden with immense spoil, unresisted, and with perfect impunity. Confident in their strength, they sent back the Bayonnese ships[a] which they had called to their assistance, and resolved to keep the sea; and, while looking out for prizes, they took measures for preventing the French from going to aid the Scotch. They were aware that the Scotch had fixed the 15th of August to fight the English, and wished above all things to be present on that occasion. Notwithstanding their vigilance, Sir Peter des Essarts succeeded in crossing the Channel with some followers while the English were engaged in acts of piracy on the frontiers of Brittany; for neither fear of the inhabitants nor of the dangers on the coast near St. Matthew, which required a skilful pilot, prevented them from coming there about the end of June, where they captured a ship with a rich cargo and ten empty merchant-vessels. Pleased with their prizes, they were thinking only of their return to divide the spoil, "when they were taught that robbers are sometimes robbed in their turn."

The Bretons resolved to take vengeance for these proceedings. By the advice of Sir Oliver de Clisson they collected twelve hundred men-at-arms, and a great number of crossbow-men and light troops, to intercept the English on their passage home; and

[a] In this year Peter of Bayonne was the King's Admiral of the Bayonnese fleet. Rot. Patent. 4 Hen. IV. p. 2. d.

chose the Sire de Penhoet, Sir John his son, Admiral of Brittany, and Sir William du Chatel, all knights celebrated for their valour, to command them. The Bretons embarked in thirty vessels at Chastel Pol, near Morlaix,[a] and weighing anchor about the 1st of July, proceeded after the English, having sent before them some small vessels with trusty men to reconnoitre their position. The next day the scouts reported that the English fleet was lying at the extremity of the coast, in the Race of Saint Matthew, and hastening there, they discovered them at sunset. It was with difficulty the Breton commanders could restrain the zeal of the young soldiers, and induce them to postpone the attack until the following morning. At dawn of day the English were discovered steering towards England, instead of seeking the Spanish sea, and every exertion was made to bring them to action. The Bretons formed their fleet in two divisions, one under Sir William du Chatel, and the other under his colleagues; and seeing this, the English divided their fleet in the same manner. The Bretons began the battle by boarding their adversaries with great impetuosity, uttering terrible cries; but they were received with equal courage, it not being easy to decide which displayed the most ardour, fought with the greatest rage, or sustained the battle with most bravery and constancy. After the action had lasted six hours,[b] the English, finding that they could not keep their

A. D. 140 July.

[a] Monstrelet, cap. XII. (ed. Buchon) p. 25. Monstrelet says the English were at sea with a very large fleet, cruising for merchant-vessels, like pirates and sea-rovers: "espians les merchans, comme pirates et escumers de mer."

[b] "Ab hora diei tercia usque ad nonam." (St. Denys.) "La bataille dura depuis un grand matin jusques a midy." (Des Ursins, p. 156.) Monstrelet says the battle lasted three hours.

A. D. 1403. July. ground with their ships in two divisions, united them in one body. The French did the same, and the combat was renewed, both sides using all their engines and missiles, and then fighting hand to hand. The English maintained the combat until all their missiles were exhausted, when five hundred of their men being either slain or drowned, their courage gave way, and forty ships with sails and one carack[a] surrendered. Some of the soldiers threw their weapons into the sea, with the hope of being put to a lighter ransom if they were taken unarmed, or more probably, to prevent them from falling into the hands of the conquerors; whereupon the Breton captains ordered these brave fellows to be thrown overboard after their weapons.[b] One thousand prisoners,[c] and all the English ships,[d] were brought into port; and, after sending intelligence of the victory to their Duke and to the French lords, the Bretons filled their ships with fresh soldiers to follow up their success, and carry the war to the shores of England.[e]

About this time, according to Monstrelet, twelve hundred soldiers under De Tries, the Admiral of France, embarked at Brest in one hundred and twenty vessels to assist the Welsh; and, after waiting fifteen days for a fair wind, they arrived at Haverfordwest, burnt the town, slew the inhabitants, laid the country

[a] Monstrelet. The Monk of St. Denys does not state how many ships were taken.

[b] Des Ursins merely says, "et y en eut cinq cens de morts, et tous armez les jettoient en la mer."

[c] Monstrelet says ten thousand of the English were made prisoners, of whom the greater part were thrown into the sea, but some were preserved to be ransomed.

[d] Des Ursins, p. 156.

[e] Chronique de Saint Denys, III. pp. 104, 105; Monstrelet, cap. XII. p. 25. The brief account of this affair by Des Ursins (p. 157) so closely resembles that of the Monk of Saint Denys, that it affords another reason for believing he copied this part of his work from that writer.

waste, and joined Owen Glendower at Tenby. On the A. D. 1403.
21st of July Henry fought the battle of Shrewsbury, July.
and soon afterwards the French returned to St. Pol de Leon.[a]

In August the enemy attacked Plymouth. Of that August.
circumstance very little is said by any writer except Monstrelet; but, as he has mistaken the year in which it occurred, and blended three distinct transactions, his narrative is of little value.[b] It is, however, certain that on the 9th of August a large force of Bretons and Normans, under the Sire du Chatel, landed about a mile from Plymouth, and entered the rear of the town; that they burnt and pillaged the place, and wrung large ransoms from the inhabitants, and the next day embarked without having met with the least resistance.[c]

To retaliate the descent upon Plymouth, six thousand men[d] were sent in a squadron of ships to Brittany in November, and landing near St. Matthew, they November.
set the town in flames, and put numbers of the people to the sword. A large force having collected, they

[a] Monstrelet, cap. xv.

[b] Namely, the expedition under the Count de la Marche to assist the Welsh in 1405, one of the descents made by the French on the Isle of Wight, and the attack upon Plymouth. He says that the Count de la Marche sailed from Brest to aid the Welsh, intending to land at Dartmouth, (a very unlikely circumstance if he were going to Wales,) but that the wind prevented his entering the harbour; that, perceiving seven deeply laden merchant-vessels coming out, steering for Plymouth, he chased and captured them, their crews having escaped in their boats, and proceeded to Plymouth; that, after ravaging that town, he went to a small island in the vicinity called "Sallemüe," which he likewise pillaged, and then knighted his two brothers Louis and John; that, hearing a large force was collecting to fight him, he embarked and returned to France; but that twelve of his ships foundered on the passage with all on board, and that the remainder reached St. Maloes with great difficulty. Ed. Buchon, cap. xi. p. 24.

[c] Walsingham, p. 412; Otterbourne, p. 245; Monk of St. Denys, III. 113; Polychronicon, f. cccxxvi.; Fabyan, ed. Ellis, p. 571.

[d] Des Ursins, (p. 157,) whe does not expressly notice the attack upon Plymouth, says five or six thousand fighting-men.

A. D. 1403. attacked the English on the following day, but were defeated in a sanguinary action. Such of the Bretons as escaped sought for refuge in their vessels and put to sea, but most of them were soon after taken on the coast. The English ships then proceeded to Guienne, where they arrived towards the end of the month, and captured many vessels going to France laden with wine, and returned to England[a] with their prizes, having first slain the crews.

These proceedings are mentioned, with a few additional details, by Walsingham. Some ships belonging to the western ports, under the command of an esquire called William Wilford, took, he says, forty vessels on the coast of Brittany, laden with iron, oil, soap, and a thousand tons of wine. On his passage home, Wilford burnt forty more ships; and, landing at Penmarks in Brittany, set fire to St. Matthew and other towns, and ravaged the coast to the distance of six miles from the sea.[b] On the other hand, the French had made so many descents in England, that commands were sent to the Bishop of Winchester, on the 24th of September, to arm all his dependants, and place them under the Lords Lovell and Camois and other persons who had been sent to defend Winchester.[c]

On the 5th of November Thomas Lord Berkeley was appointed Admiral of the western, and on the 18th Sir Thomas Beaufort, a natural son of John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, and half-brother of the King, was made Admiral of the northern fleet.[d] In November

[a] Chronique de Saint Denys, III. 112, 113; Des Ursins, p. 157.
[b] Walsingham, p. 412.
[c] Rot. Claus. 4 Hen. IV. m. 10.
[d] Rot. Patent. 5 Hen. IV. m. 18, and m. 24. In July, James Dartasso had been made Admiral in Ireland. Ibid. p. 2, m. 10.

an embargo was laid upon shipping in all the ports.[a] A. D. 1403. Troops were ordered to be levied on the 9th of December. December for the defence of Southampton against the Count de la Marche, who was reported to be at sea and near the Isle of Wight, intending to land;[b] and on the 26th it was determined by the King in Council that commands should be sent to Lord Berkeley, Admiral in the south and west, to Sir William Faringdon and John Hauley, and to the other owners and masters of ships and vessels at Dartmouth, Plymouth, and other ports, to fit out a sufficient number of vessels, armed with soldiers and archers, to proceed to Bordeaux for wine, and to return as soon as possible to England, taking care, however, to leave the best ships and barges in those ports for the King's service.[c]

A few days before Christmas the French appeared off the Isle of Wight, boasting that they would keep their Christmas there in spite of the King. About a thousand troops landed, but while carrying off their booty, they were suddenly attacked by a large force, which drove them to their ships with some loss, and compelled them to leave their spoil.[d] Monstrelet has given a fuller account of this affair. Walerand, Count of St. Pol, having raised an army of sixteen hundred men, marched from Abbeville to Harfleur, where vessels were ready to receive them, and, after waiting for a few days to complete their arrangements and to recommend themselves to the protection of Saint Nicholas, the patron of sailors, the armament sailed for the Isle of Wight. The French

[a] Rot. Patent. 5 Hen. IV. m. 20.

[b] Fœdera, VIII. 342, 343.

[c] Proceedings of the Privy Council, vol. II. p. 81.

[d] Walsingham, p. 412.

A. D. 1403. landed without opposition; and Philip de Harcourt, John de Fosseux, and other young noblemen, who had burnt some small villages, were knighted by St. Pol. A sagacious priest, to allow time for the arrival of a force to expel the invaders, deceived the count by promises of a large ransom if he would spare the inhabitants and cease from devastating the island; and St. Pol did not become aware of the design until it was too late, when he hastily re-embarked his troops and returned to Harfleur, to the great displeasure of many of his followers, who had expended large sums on their equipments.[a]

A. D. 1404. January. Parliament assembled in January 1404, and the Commons represented that some of the King's subjects had taken ships and vessels with goods and merchandize at sea from the Bretons, French, Albertines, and other aliens, and brought them safely into English ports, the which vessels also contained property belonging to people of this country; that the King had commanded the mayors of those ports to restore the vessels to the owners and masters of them, which had accordingly been done; that notwithstanding this restoration, many persons were unjustly sued in the Admiralty and other courts respecting the ships and goods in question; and they prayed that they might not be harassed by such suits, and that, if sentence relating to them had been passed by any Admiral or his deputy, it might be revoked. The King did not comply with this petition.[b]

February. About February the French again appeared off the

[a] Monstrelet, ed. Buchon, cap. XIX. p. 31; Des Ursins, pp. 157, 158, who says the priest kept the count in treaty for four days; but, instead of stating that it occurred in the Isle of Wight, he only says it was on the coast of England.

[b] Rot. Parl. III. 539.

Isle of Wight with a large fleet, and sent some people on shore to demand tribute or a subsidy in the names of King Richard and Queen Isabel; but the inhabitants replied that Richard was dead, and that Isabel had been peaceably sent back to her relations and country, without any stipulation for a subsidy, and therefore they would pay none. They offered, however, if the French wished to fight, to allow them to land, and would give them six hours to refresh themselves, and then engage them. Upon receiving this reply the French took their departure.[a] A. D. 140

On the 26th of March a general array of soldiers under the Admiral, Lord Berkeley, was directed to be made against rebels and enemies.[b] The English again devastated the coast of Brittany, and committed similar acts in Picardy, particularly in the comté of St. Pol, where they found a rich booty; and, if the French historian does not exaggerate, nothing could exceed the cruelty of their proceedings. It had been determined by the French government to revenge these aggressions by besieging Calais both by land and sea; but, as this could not be done without ships, and as the French had not enough for the purpose, Sir Charles de Savoisy was sent to the King of Spain to solicit a naval subsidy; but Savoisy returned with the answer, that he would not furnish any ships until the following year. Savoisy had, however, been mistaken, or he had wilfully deceived his sovereign; for as soon as the Spanish monarch heard of the reply which he was said to have given to the request, he sent an envoy to March.

[a] Walsingham, p. 412; Otterbourne, p. 247; the Monk of St. Denys does not mention this transaction.

[b] Rot. Claus. 5 Hen. IV. pt. 2. m. 12. d.

A. D. 1404. announce that his ships and crossbow-men had already left Spain to assist the French.[a]

April. On the 23rd of April the King's council directed Sir Thomas Beaufort, Admiral in the north, to be paid 133*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* for the wages of the sailors who had brought some ships from Newcastle to the mouth of the Thames for the defence of the kingdom. Three hundred pounds were likewise paid for fitting out and arming five ships and vessels at Bristol with soldiers and archers, to carry stores and provisions to various castles in Wales, and to drive away a French knight who was besieging the castles and towns of Caernarvon and Hardlagh with several armed ships and vessels.[b]

May. Towards the end of April, or early in May, some young Norman lords, among whom were the sons of Messires de la Roche Guyon, Vacqueville, and William Martel, three famous knights, to the number of two hundred, who were tired of idleness, embarked in vessels to attack the English wherever they found them. A fair wind took them to the isle of Portland, which they ravaged with fire and sword. The principal persons of the island lost no time in collecting about a thousand peasants, armed with bows and agricultural instruments; and the French seeing so large a force, deliberated whether they had not better retreat to their ships. The youngest among them disdained, however, to adopt the suggestion, and determined to fight; but notwithstanding this show of valour, they did not, says the Monk, act like men of courage, and their defeat was more shameful than

[a] St. Denys, III. 160; Des Ursins, p. 161.

[b] Proc. of the Privy Council, I. 220.

sanguinary. Offering little or no resistance, and being surrounded by the enemy, they yielded cowardly; and, forgetful of their honour, laid down their arms, and meanly begged their lives. Being all taken prisoners, they were loaded with chains, brought to England and thrown into prison.[a] A. D. 1404

Though this affair is not mentioned by the English chroniclers, a fact relating to it occurs in the public records. On the 12th of May 1404, the King wrote to the sheriff of Dorset, and to some of the inhabitants of Weymouth and Portland, stating that, after the victory which his subjects had gained over some Normans who had landed near the isle of Portland, various disputes had arisen among them respecting the prisoners; that they had appeared before the sheriff at Weymouth, and agreed to abide by his Majesty's determination; and that they had, from laudable motives, determined to grant a tenth part of whatever money might be paid as ransoms to such of the people as had assisted in the action, but had not taken any prisoners. The King therefore, signified his consent to that arrangement, and directed the sheriff to carry it into effect, by giving to every man the proportion due to his merits; adding, however, that it was not to become a precedent.[b]

Very soon after the descent in Portland,[c] Sir William du Chatel was sent to the princes of France, who then governed the kingdom in consequence of Charles' insanity, for permission to take arms against the English, in retaliation of the piracies which they had com-

[a] St. Denys, III. 168, 169; Des Ursins, p. 159.

[b] Fœdera, VIII. 356.

[c] The precise date is nowhere stated: Fabyan says it was soon after Candlemas; but the documents in p. 366, *post*, prove that it was about the middle of May.

A. D. 1404. mitted in Brittany. The Bretons then fitted out three hundred sail, manned them with able sailors and rowers, and embarked two thousand knights and esquires, crossbow-men, and light troops, under the command of the Sires de Chateaubriand, de Jaille, and du Chatêl, with the intention of landing at Dartmouth. The character of these knights inspired confidence in the success of the enterprise;[a] but from the fatal error of having too many commanders, instead of placing the expedition under the orders of one chief, discipline was neglected, and every one did as he pleased. On the day the fleet sailed they fell in with some ships laden with Spanish wine, and notwithstanding the alliance between France and Spain, the Bretons attacked them, ill-treated the crews, and, opening the wine, made themselves drunk. This conduct being severely condemned by some of their companions, a quarrel ensued, and part of the ships separating, they proceeded singly on their route.

Information having been received of this armament, six thousand men were raised to prevent the Bretons from disembarking, and a deep trench was made on the shore, leaving only a narrow causeway, which was defended by trustworthy troops. The next day some of the French ships, under Du Chatel and De Jaille, approached Dartmouth in order of battle; but when the English saw that they had only about two hundred men, they determined to stand their ground. Finding the English in such force, Du Chatel advised his col-

[a] The Monk of St. Denys uses here a remarkable expression, which almost tends to shew that he wrote at the moment: "Cum strenuitate insignes, nec dubiæ fidei ubique reputarentur, nec ambiguum mihi erat, cum hiis gestis calamum applicabam, quin eis prospera succes-sissent," &c. P. 172.

league to wait for their crossbow-men and the re- A. D. 1401
mainder of their troops; but De Jaille urged him to attack them, bidding him not to be afraid. Piqued at such an expression, Du Chatel replied, "God forbid that the heart of a Breton should know so disgraceful a sentiment! Convinced as I am that we march to death rather than victory, I will take the chance of a battle; let the die be cast, for I vow to God I will not this day be put to ransom." He then leapt on shore, and his example was followed by the others. Part of the enemy attacked the causeway, but found they could neither penetrate the ranks of their adversaries nor retreat; and, after slaying, it is said, the incredible number of fifteen hundred of the English, they were all either killed or made prisoners. Here Sir William du Chatel, "the flower of chivalry," whose prowess is glowingly described, fell, mortally wounded; but, being carried to the town, he expired while they were dressing his wounds, "expiating by a glorious death his blind temerity." The other division of the Bretons, ignorant of the depth of the trench, tried to cross it, intending to take their adversaries in flank. But they all perished, some sinking into the water from the weight of their armour, while others, who had succeeded in reaching the edge, though drenched from head to foot, threw themselves on the English and were all slain.

The Bretons in the ships, on hearing of the fate of their companions, resolved to avenge them, and would probably have rushed on a similar fate, had not an experienced knight restrained their ardour, representing to them the imprudence of attacking an enemy flushed with success, and whose force was superior to

A. D. 1404. their own. They returned to Brittany, and Du Chatel's brother, burning to efface the shame of his countrymen, and to revenge his brother's death, collected his companions, and about a month afterwards, seizing a favourable opportunity, sailed with four hundred men. Suddenly appearing off Dartmouth, he entered the town without resistance, which he delivered to pillage, inundated it with blood, and reduced it almost to ashes. Not satisfied with this vengeance, he ravaged the coast, and committed all kinds of injuries. Though the King himself often endeavoured to repress these attacks, he did not succeed, for the Bretons, informed of his approach, disappeared before he arrived, and assailed some other place. For eight weeks Du Chatel continued to pillage the coast without opposition, and then returned safely with an immense booty.[a]

The English writers describe this attack upon Dartmouth with their usual brevity. Du Chatel, says Walsingham, expecting the same success as had attended him at Plymouth in the preceding year, landed at Dartmouth. The inhabitants attacked the Bretons with great fury, and the women fought bravely, hurling missiles at them, and assisting the men to secure their prisoners. Du Chatel and many of his followers were slain by the peasants, whom he had affected to despise;[b] and, when the fugitives implored for mercy, the country-people, ignorant of their language, construed their prayers for life and offers of money into threats of defiance, and put many to death. Three

[a] Chronique de Saint Denys, III. 170—180.

[b] "Nam ab his quos maxime habebat contemptui, scilicet ruralibus, est peremptus."

lords and twenty knights were taken and brought to the King; and on their captors asking for part of the spoil, Henry consented, and, filling their pouches with gold, kept the prisoners to be heavily ransomed.[a] A. D. 1404

These narratives, it will have been seen, differ materially. It is probable that the Monk of St. Denys has exaggerated the number of the English who assembled to defend Dartmouth, and possibly, too, the force of the Bretons. Instead of being regular troops, the English are said by Walsingham and Otterbourne to have been mere peasantry;[b] and if two thousand knights and esquires were in the expedition, the whole number of fighting-men could scarcely have been less than three, if not four thousand. Yet of this large force not more than two hundred landed, though two of the commanders were present, statements not easily reconciled with the army having consisted of three or four thousand men, nor satisfactorily accounted for by the separation of the fleet; and it is not easy to

[a] Walsingham, p. 412, 413. Otterbourne (p. 247) merely says, "Eodem anno Dominus de Castellis applicuit apud Dertmouth cum classe magna, ubi ruralibus, quos maxime habebat in despectu, est oppressus." Des Ursins, who gives only three lines to the affair, does not mention the second attack upon Dartmouth. The later English chroniclers supply some additional particulars. The Polychronicon (f. cccxxvi.[b]) states that the enemy landed at Blackpool, two miles from Dartmouth, and that more than five hundred gentles, Frenchmen and Bretons, were slain, drowned, or captured. Fabyan (p. 571) makes it a sea-fight, and says many ships were taken; adding, that the French book "excuseth this scomfiture of Frenchmen, and saith that, by treason of a Gascone named Peryn or Perot de Languyle, which shewed unto the said Lord Castyle that he had espied certain English ships in a creek lightly without resistance to be taken, caused the said lord to make sail towards the said town of Dartmouth, where, after he had continued a certain time his course, he espied the whole fleet of Englishmen, which made towards him, and so at the said Blackpool encountered and fought, and lastly escaped the danger of his enemies, as testifieth the said French chronicle, but not unhurt, for he was so wounded in that fight that he died shortly after."

[b] "rusticus."

A. D. 1404. understand why the two or three thousand soldiers who were left in the other ships did not at once endeavour to avenge the defeat of their companions. Of the second invasion and spoil of Dartmouth, as well as of the proceedings of Du Chatel's brother, the English chroniclers are entirely silent; and no other notice of the circumstances has been discovered.

There are, however, some particulars relating to the prisoners taken at Dartmouth.[a] On the 23rd of May the King ordered the sheriff of Devon to prohibit any one from allowing the foreigners who had lately invaded the country, and had been taken by the people there, from leaving the realm and going to France or Brittany, or elsewhere, without his permission.[b] Two days afterwards, the sheriff, the mayor of Dartmouth, and John Drax, sergeant-at-arms, were directed to bring Sir Bertram de Guytyn, Sir John Gaudyn, Sir Oliver Arell, and Tange du Chatel, Henry du Chatel, and a Welsh esquire, who, with others of France and Brittany, had lately landed and were captured in Devonshire, to him, together with their masters, (that is, their captors,) that he might converse with them, and ascertain the secrets and designs of the enemy.[c] On the 27th of June commands were issued to the authorities of Dartmouth, Weymouth, and Falmouth, not to permit any French, Breton, or Norman prisoner to quit the kingdom;[d] and Sir John Cornwall having bought the Bretons who had been captured near Dartmouth for the use of the King and himself,

[a] It was, no doubt, in consequence of this attack, that John Corpe of Dartmouth was permitted to embattle his house, at the entrance of the port. Rot. Pat. 4 Hen. IV. pt. 2, m. 30.

[b] Fœdera, VIII. 357.

[c] Ibid. p. 358.

[d] Fœdera, VIII. 362.

Henry granted his interest in those prisoners, which was one-half of their ransom, to his consort, Queen Joan, in January following.[a] A. D. 1404.

In June the Council informed the King, in a letter from London, that the sum of 9545*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.* was required for the wages and rewards of six hundred men-at-arms and two thousand two hundred archers, going to sea in forty ships and balingers, with the two Admirals; and they reminded his Majesty that he had directed them to pay 180*l.* for the repairs, and 40*l.* for the rigging of his ships.[b] June.

At the end of August information arrived that the Count de la Marche had collected sixty ships at Harfleur, and was filling them with men-at-arms and crossbow-men, to proceed with all possible expedition to Wales; and the King's council determined on the 29th that measures should be immediately adopted for raising troops, and that a notable person should be sent to the sea-coasts towards the south, with letters to the Admiral, to Sir Philip and Sir Peter Courtenay, John Haule, Henry Pay, and others, informing them of the circumstance, and desiring them to do all they could to oppose the count's expedition.[c] August.

In the Parliament which met on the 6th of October the owners of ships, barges, balingers, and other vessels represented that it had been customary for the King's predecessors to pay them for the repairs of those vessels, while in their service, 4*s.* 4*d.* a quarter a October.

[a] Fœdera. VIII. 381.

[b] Proc. Privy Council, I. 267, 268. This letter was supposed to have been written in June 1405; but the allusion to the *two* Admirals tends to shew that it belongs to the preceding year; for, except in 1406, when the merchants nominated two Admirals, the command of the fleets was vested in one person, from February 1405 until the end of Henry the Fourth's reign.

[c] Proc. Privy Council, I. 234.

A. D. 1404. ton-tight;[a] and that they had in the present year fitted out their vessels at great expence. They therefore prayed to be paid what was due to them; that thenceforward they might be paid quarterly; that the first quarter should commence on the day their ships were impressed, and that at the end of the voyage the masters and mariners should bring their vessels, at the King's wages, back to the ports in which they were arrested; the which payments would, they said, tend greatly to increase the Navy, and to the destruction of the enemy. "Let the ancient good ordinances in such cases be kept and observed," was the only answer the petitioners received.[b]

On the 26th of October all men capable of bearing arms were ordered to be arrayed to defend the realm against invasion.[c] In this year the Bretons and Flemings captured several English ships laden with merchandize, and either hung their crews or put them to the sword.[d] Otterbourne says the Earl of Somerset, captain of Calais, captured seventeen ships in a sea-fight, laden with wine.[e] According to the Monk of St. Denys, some English ships attempted to take Rochelle in 1404, but failed;[f] and they afterwards proceeded to the coast of Brittany, intending to burn the fleet of the Count de la Marche at Brest. The English ships were, he says, commanded by the Count de Beaumont and the Bastard of England; and he states that Beaumont, having landed all the troops, burnt and ravaged the neighbourhood; that they were defeated by the

[a] Ton-tight meant tons. Vessels are described as being of eighty or more "ton-tights."

[b] Rot. Parl. III. 554.

[c] Fœdera, VIII. 374.

[d] Walsingham, p. 413.

[e] Otterbourne, p. 248.

[f] St. Denys, III. 181.

Duke of Brittany, and that Beaumont was slain; that A. D. 1404.
the Bastard of England, who remained in his ship, then proceeded to Guerrande, and thence to Sluys, where he burnt an island, and took two merchant-vessels with a rich cargo.[a] The latter part of this statement seems to refer to the proceedings of Sir Thomas of Lancaster's fleet in the following year; but the Monk's account of the action in Brittany is unsupported by any English writer. If by the Count de Beaumon Lord Beaumont was meant, it is certain that he was not killed on that occasion; and it is not impossible that he alludes to the death of the Earl of Kent in 1408. The Bastard of England was probably the Earl of Somerset.

The Count de la Marche put off his departure to assist the Welsh under various frivolous pretences, from the middle of August to November, when find- November.
ing it impossible to proceed to Wales, he sent a vessel to reconnoitre the coast of England. Intelligence was brought to him that a fleet was off Dartmouth; and instead of going towards it, he steered for Falmouth, which he pillaged and burnt; but, as the French were carrying off their booty, the country-people rose upon them, recovered their property, and obliged them to embark.[b] No English writer mentions this circumstance.

Two privateers, one called the "Trinity of Bristol," and the other the "James of Bristol," were fitted out A. D. 1405.
at that port; and on the 5th of February 1405 the King informed his Admirals that he had given a licence February.
to the masters of those vessels to place as many men-at-

[a] St. Denys, III. 197.

[b] Ibid. 222, 226.

A. D. 1405. arms and archers in them as were necessary, at their own expence, to proceed to sea against the enemy, and that whatever they might capture was to be their February. own.[a] On the 20th of February the King appointed his second son, Sir Thomas of Lancaster, Admiral of England; and on the 7th of the following month he was made lieutenant and captain of an expedition at sea.[b] Though the Prince was little more than seventeen years of age, the office was not merely honorary, for a fleet was placed under his command,[c] and sent against the French. His troops, or, as they were termed, his "retinue," consisted of seven hundred men-at-arms, including himself, two earls, twelve bannerets, eighty knights, six hundred and five esquires, and fourteen hundred archers; and they were embarked in twenty large ships with castles, twenty barges, and twenty balingers.[d]

March. In March the Council assigned four barges and six balingers, having forty sailors in each, with one hundred and forty men-at-arms, and two hundred and eighty archers, for the protection of the sea in the north, for a quarter of a year.[e] At the suggestion of the Duke of Albany, Robert King of Scotland agreed to send his eldest son, Prince James, who was thirteen years of age, to France for his education, and to acquire the French language. He sailed from Leith in a barge, attended by the Earl of Orkney and a bishop;

[a] Rot. Patent. 6 Hen. IV. pt. 1, m. 12.

[b] Rot. Franc. p. 187.

[c] Fœdera, VIII. 389. The Prince is only called the King's Admiral in his commission: "Constituimus ipsum filium nostrum admirallum nostrum;" but in other instruments he is described as "Steward and Admiral of England."

[d] Ibid. The names of many of the knights and esquires who served in the expedition are in the Fœdera, VIII. 390; and in Carte's French Rolls, pp. 188, 189.

[e] Proc. Privy Council, I. 251.

and on the 30th of March[a] was captured off Flambo- A. D. 1405.
rough Head, by an outlaw called Prendergast,[b] in a ship belonging to Clay, in Norfolk. When Henry heard that the young prince was taken, he jestingly said, "Certes, if the Scots had any gratitude, they would have sent this youth to me to be educated, for I also know French."[c] It is a stain upon the generosity of Henry's character, that he did not restore the prince, whose detention is said to have hastened his father's death. James succeeded to the crown of Scotland on the 4th of April 1406, and sought con-

[a] King James has himself described his capture. After saying that he sailed in the spring—

"Upon the wavis weltering to and fro,
So infortunate was we that fremyt day,
That maugre plainly quether we wold or no,
With strong hand by force, schortly to say,
Of inymyes taken and led away
We weren all, and brought in thair contrie."

[b] Anonymous Chronicler in the Additional MS. 1776, f. 46. This writer says that the Scots sent the prince to France, that he might escape the fate of his elder brother the Duke of Rothsay, "who had been inhumanly killed as the English had killed their King Richard," meaning, apparently, that he had been starved to death, and adds that Henry received him with kindness.

[c] Walsingham, p. 419; Otterbourne, p. 259; Anon Chron. f. 46. All these writers state that the Scottish prince was taken in 1406. The Scotichronicon (II. 439) gives the 30th of March as the precise date, but assigns the event to the year 1404. Wyntown (II. 415) says the prince was captured on Palm Sunday, *i. e.* the 12th of April 1405:—

"This ilka schip sone taken wes
Ewyn upon the Palm Sonday."

The year 1405 has been adopted by Chalmers, Tytler, and Southey. Pinkerton, (History of Scotland, I. 81, 82,) who, with his usual industry, collected many authorities on the point, inclines to the year 1405. If the Earl of Orkney was actually captured with the prince, the event probably occurred in 1405, for the Earl was certainly a prisoner in England in September of that year, when he was permitted to return to Scotland on parole; and in January and March 1406 it was agreed that he should be one of the hostages for the Earl of Douglas. (Fœdera, VIII. 415; Rot. Scot. II. 177.) The earliest notice of the prince that has been found in records is the payment, on the 14th of August 1406, of 44*l.* 7*s.* to the lieutenant of the Tower, for the expences of the King of Scots, then in his custody. (Issue Roll, 7 Hen. IV.) It is extraordinary that the date of so important an event should not long since have been settled by Scottish historians.

A. D. 1405. solation during his long confinement in England in poetry and love.

April. On the 7th of April the Bishop of Bangor and the other ambassadors, who had been sent to Calais to treat with the Duchess of Burgundy, as Countess of Flanders, informed the Council, that it was reported that the Lord of Hengueville, who had lately returned from Holland, had made arrangements there for collecting a fleet.[a] The Royal Admiral joined his fleet

May. at Sandwich early in May; and on the 6th of that month he wrote to acquaint the Council, that from the day of his appointment until then, he had been at great and unbearable costs and expenses; that he had nearly paid the whole of the wages of his companions and people; and that his dear friend Sir John Pelham, one of the treasurers of war,[b] had promised him that he would pay the remainder as soon as he could; that, as for himself, he had neither wages nor reward; and that he certainly thought it was not the King his father's intention, nor the Council's, that he should take upon himself such costs and charges, without sufficient reward. He told them, moreover, that he could not quit the port of Sandwich unless the Council would assign such wages and reward as they thought reasonable for his rank, with another sufficient sum, as the bearer of that letter would explain. And he requested them not to fail therein, as they would save the King's honour, and ensure the speedy success of his voyage.[c]

On the 21st of May, the King ordered proces-

[a] Proc. Privy Council, I. 257.

[b] Lord Furnival and Sir John Pelham were made treasurers of war in October 1404, but were superseded, at their particular request, on the 19th of June 1406. Rot. Parl. III. 546, 577.

[c] Proc. Privy Council, I. 263.

sions, masses, and thanksgivings for a victory which had been gained by his brother, John Earl of Somerset, captain of Calais, over the Count of St. Pol, who had attacked the castle of Merk and other fortresses; and Henry also directed prayers to be offered up for the safety of himself, of his sons, and of the nobles and others of the realm, who were constantly exposed to great peril, and for their prosperity and success.[a] A.D. 1405

Sir Thomas of Lancaster's expedition sailed about June, and proceeded to Sluys, where they burnt four large ships and landed the troops.[b] They then attacked the castle of Sluys, but were beaten off with the loss of sixty men;[c] and hearing of the approach of the Duke of Burgundy with a large force, the English re-embarked.[d] The fleet soon after fell in with three caracks, one of which gallantly bore down upon Sir Thomas of Lancaster's ship; but, by her master's skilful management of the rudder, the shock was averted, and the carack only struck the vessel on the bow, which she injured, and stove in her side. A sharp fight ensued, but the Earl of Kent's ship coming up and attacking the carack, she surrendered, and her two consorts were also taken. The fleet then proceeded to Normandy, and burnt La Hogue, Harfleur, and thirty-eight other towns, pillaging the country without resistance for thirty miles.[e] June.

[a] Fœdera, VIII. 397.

[b] Otterbourne, p. 253.

[c] Monstrelet states that the Earl of Pembroke was killed on that occasion; but no person then bore that title, nor does any other earl appear to have died about that time.

[d] Monstrelet, cap. XXIV., ed. Buchon, p. 36. Otterbourne (p. 253) says the troops re-embarked because they could not find any enemies to fight.

[e] Otterbourne, p. 253. Fabyan (p. 571) stated that these caracks were Genoese, that they were captured in April, and that they were brought to the Camber, near Winchelsea, where one of them took fire and was burnt.

A. D. 1405. Information having been received that the French were assembling a great force in Picardy to besiege the King's castles and towns, and also to assist the Welsh rebels, soldiers and archers were ordered, on the 2nd of July, to be arrayed and armed in all the counties, that they might be ready on the sea-coast to resist the French.[a] The Lord de Hengueville arrived at Milford with a large army, and a fleet of one hundred
August. and forty ships, about the beginning of August; and on the 7th of that month troops were ordered to be levied throughout England, who were to proceed with the King against the enemy in Wales.[b] The French vessels were attacked by some ships under the command of Lord Berkeley and Henry Pay, who burnt fifteen of their fleet. Not long afterwards fourteen more French vessels were captured by Lord Berkeley, Sir Thomas Swinburne, and Henry Pay, on their passage to Wales to aid Owen Glendower, in which were the steward of France and eight other captains.[c]

Though none of the English or French chroniclers mention any other acts of hostility at sea or on the coast of England in this year, a Spanish writer who was present relates many proceedings of much importance; whence it would appear that the galleys of Castile and France attacked several places in Cornwall, Devonshire, and Dorset, and had even entered the Thames. It has been already stated[d] that the French had solicited the King of Castile to assist them with some galleys against the English, and that he had complied with their request. Forty ships and three galleys in Santander were ordered to be prepared with all

[a] Fœdera, VIII. 403.
[b] Ibid. p. 407; Walsingham, p. 418.
[c] Walsingham, p. 418. Ypodigma Neustriæ, p. 169.
[d] Vide p. 357, *ante*.

speed, and the command of the former was given to A. D. 14
Martin Ruiz de Abendaño, and of the galleys to Pedro Niño, afterwards Conde de Buelna, a man of high birth, who had distinguished himself in the Mediterranean.[a] Though directed to act in conjunction, the galleys soon separated from the ships; and Niño's proceedings, as they are related by his standard-bearer, Gutierre Diez de Games, who served with him, are inferior in interest only to the animated details of Froissart.[b]

Niño was received at Rochelle with great honour by Charles d'Albert, constable of France; and it was determined that the galleys and two French vessels should harass the English in the Gironde. Though they made no captures in the river, they committed great devastation on the shore, burnt one hundred and fifty houses within sight of Bordeaux, and carried off every thing they could lay their hands upon, and returned to Rochelle. While lying there, Sir Charles de Savoisy came into port with two beautiful galleys, which he had built at his own cost at Marseilles; and the gallant knight agreed to join Niño, and try their fortune upon the shores of England. Coasting along Brittany in expectation of meeting the Spanish ships, they found Martin Ruiz's vessels at Brest; but he refused to concur in their plans, because they had brought merchandize in their ships, and thought only of trading for their own profit. This circumstance produced some remarks from the historian of the expedition, which affords a singular idea of the want of

[a] Cap. XVI.

[b] Cronica de Don Pedro Niño, Conde de Buelna, por Gutierre Diez de Gamez, su Alferez. 4to. Madrid, 1782. The extracts in the text have been abridged from Southey's copious translation, in his "Naval History," (II. 20—45,) by whom this curious chronicler was first introduced to English history.

A. D. 1405. discipline that prevailed in the Spanish, and probably in the naval service of other countries, when the Sovereign did not employ his own officers.

"When the King," he says, "sent out a fleet, it generally happened, since he had ceased to send his own captains with it, nothing but profit was cared for. If it was despatched to the assistance of an ally, the commanders received pay from both sides, took care to station themselves where the enemy could not come, and plundered the country of their friends, upon the pretext that they were in want of provisions. And when they fell in with merchant-ships of their own country, they took from them whatever they liked, telling them that the King's servants must not starve, and bidding them apply to him for payment. Thus they plundered their countrymen instead of the enemy; and, for the sake of enriching themselves, brought an ill report upon their country; and this was the consequence of employing men who were moved by the lucre of gain, and not by the hope of obtaining honour for themselves and their King."[a]

In their first attempt to cross the Channel, the galleys met with bad weather, and, after great danger, were obliged to return to the French coast, on which some of the crew observed, that God favoured that vile people the English; though they comforted themselves with thinking that it was because of their own sins, and that though they were sinners, the English were worse, and, therefore, better success might be hoped for. As soon as the weather became favour-

[a] "The editor of the 'Cronica'" (says Southey) "observes in his preface, that it contains a much fuller and clearer account of the Spanish marine of those times, than is to be found in all the chronicles of the kings."

able, they made the coast of Cornwall, captured some A. D. 1405
fishing-boats, obtained from the fishermen such information as they wanted, and proceeded to attack an unfortified town, which the writer calls "Chita,"[a] and describes as built on the side of a hill, with all its streets leading to the water. The place contained about three hundred houses, and was very rich, being inhabited wholly by merchants and fishermen. The entrance of the port was difficult; for the tide retired with such force that the galleys would neither answer to the oars nor rudder, till it had carried them in about the distance of a crossbow-shot, when they found themselves in a port which was safe in all winds. Here they landed, slew or captured many of the inhabitants, who made a brave resistance, plundered and burnt the place, took two ships, and sent these with their lading and the spoils to Harfleur. No time was lost in the work of destruction; and it was well for the assailants that they made such speed, as they themselves acknowledged, when they saw in what numbers the country-people came to assist their neighbours, and with what spirit they attacked the galleys with stones and arrows, from both sides of the mouth of the harbour, as they went out.

They then proceeded to Falmouth,[b] where a body of

[a] Southey has not attempted to explain what place could be meant by "Chita." It was, however, probably Shuta, or Shutta, about a quarter of a mile from the entrance of the river Looe, where there was anciently a town, and the locality agrees exactly with the chronicler's description; but there is nothing to justify the idea that it ever contained three hundred houses. He may, from its being so near, have mistaken Shuta for Looe, which was then a place of some maritime importance; and it is not improbable that the original town of Looe was at Shuta. Bond's History of Looe, pp. 49, 260, 265.

[b] The Monk of St. Denys says that Falmouth was attacked by the Count de la Marche in November 1404, (vide p. 369, *ante*,) which is the only other allusion to such an occurrence.

A. D. 1405. men-at-arms and archers were in readiness to oppose a landing. Niño proposed to land, because it seemed to be good fighting ground, and, moreover, it was necessary to do so because they wanted water; but Sir Charles de Savoisy was of opinion, that, considering the disparity of their own numbers with those whom they saw drawn up to resist them, the attempt ought not to be hazarded. A mistake on the part of the French, that this was the place where Du Chatel had been defeated and slain,[a] had its effect in deterring them this day; and warm words ensued between De Savoisy and Niño; but when the latter had given up his intended enterprise, the mutual regard which they entertained for each other, and the sense of their common interest, soon reconciled them. They stood out to sea that night, being in fear of meeting an English fleet; and on the morrow turned back along the coast till they came to Plymouth. A good town it was at that time, and with a good fortress, where there was no landing against the will of the inhabitants, except at some distance from the place, which, if attacked from the land side, was not strong. It stood upon the banks of the river, about a gunshot from the sea, and there was a bridge of boats laid across the river, like that at Seville, some seven or eight barks sufficing. There were many vessels lying there, which, upon sight of the Spaniards, drew up to the bridge. The Spaniards and French entered the river, hoping to capture, or at least set fire to some of these, but such a fire was opened upon them from the town, that they found it necessary to make off with all speed, lest the galleys should be sunk. On this occa-

[a] Dartmouth, in May 1404. Vide p. 360—364, *ante*.

sion a stone is said to have been projected to twice A. D. 1405.
the height of a tower, and to have fallen in the sea half a league off.

Their next attempt was upon the isle of Portland,[a] where they landed in the hope of carrying off some cattle, and what other booty they could find. The islanders, who were few and ill-armed, saw the galleys in time to retire into the caves, which they had converted into places of security. The marauders made but few prisoners, and were soon recalled by sound of trumpet to their vessels; for, the tide having gone out, archers and men-at-arms were hastening thither from the mainland. Before they withdrew, the French set fire to some of the houses; but the Spaniards took no part in this, and prevented their friends from doing more mischief in this way, because the people were poor, and it was their captain's will that they should never thus make war against the weak. When the two commanders saw that they could not prevent succour from entering the island, they landed to support their men, and there was sharp shooting from the archers on one side, and the arbalisters on the other, arrows falling as thick as snow, till night came on, and the invaders re-embarked. From thence they coasted on, landing for wood and water, carrying off cattle, and burning the houses and the standing corn, till Niño learned that he was not far from Poole. "This place," says the writer, "belongs to a knight called Henry Pay,[b] who scours the seas as a corsair, with many ships, plundering all the

[a] This could scarcely have been the attack on the isle of Portland in April or May 1404. Vide p. 358, *ante*.

[b] His name is thus Hispaniolized —"Arripay;" "and looks," says Southey, "as if it belonged to an Indian cacique."

A. D. 1405. Spanish and French vessels that he could meet with. This Henry Pay came often upon the coast of Castile, and carried away many ships and vessels; and he scoured the channel of Flanders so powerfully, that no vessel could pass that way without being taken. He burnt Gijon and Finisterre, and carried off the crucifix from Santa Maria de Finisterre, which was famous for being the holiest in all those parts, (as in truth it was, for I have seen it;) and much more damage he did in Castile, taking many prisoners, and exacting ransoms; and though other armed ships came there from England likewise, he it was who came oftenest." Niño no sooner heard that he was near Pay's place of abode, than he determined to return the visits which that corsair, as he deemed him, had paid to the Spanish coast. Accordingly they entered the harbour, and came at daybreak in sight of Poole. The town was not walled, and had a handsome tower with a cupola. The French commander thought it would be rash to attempt a landing; and when the Spaniard persisted in his purpose, De Savoisy forbad any of his people to land with him. The Spaniards landed under the command of Niño's kinsman, Fernando Niño, with orders not to encumber themselves with plunder, but to plant their banner before the place, and set the houses on fire. One large building was maintained awhile against them; but when, after a stout resistance, they forced an entrance, the defenders escaped at the back part; and here the invaders found arms and sea-stores of all kinds: they carried off what they could, and then set the store-house on fire. By this time the English had collected in some force archers and men-at-arms; and having put themselves in array,

they came so near that it might well be seen, says A. D. 140
Gutierre Diez, who was of a ruddy complexion, and who of a dark one. They had taken the doors out of the houses, which they contrived by means of supports to place before them as pavises, to protect them against the crossbow-shot. Under this cover the archers kept up a brisk discharge, with such effect that the bowmen dared not expose themselves while they stooped to charge their bows. Many were wounded, and those whose armour protected them are described as fledged with arrows. Niño seeing his people in danger, and that they were beginning to fall back, landed with the rest of his men; and the French, notwithstanding their previous determination, then hastened with all speed, like brave men, to support him. He set up the cry of 'Santiago! Santiago!' and the English, who fought well, were at length compelled to retreat, leaving among the slain a brother of Pay's, a gallant man-at-arms, who distinguished himself by his great exertions before he fell."

With a total disregard of geography, Niño says "they went up the Southampton river and came in sight of London, which stands about two leagues from the open sea, a great river, called the Thames, coming from the north, encompassing the place on which it stands, and on the other side is the Isle of Wight."[a] Near the Isle of Wight they found a Genoese carack which the English had captured; and they would have brought it off, but it had no sails. They were then

[a] This passage is deserving of notice because it is one of the few statements of which there is the slightest corroboration, St. Denys having stated that De Savoisy captured some ships off the Thames. Vide p. 392, *post*.

A. D. 1405. about to burn it, when the Genoese came off to them in a boat, and representing themselves as friends to the King of Castile, said their carack had been taken, though it was provided with the King of England's safe-conduct; and that they were now making suit for its restitution, wherefore they prayed that it might be left unhurt. This reasonable request was granted. The galleys then made for the Isle of Wight, where they landed, but, after some skirmishing, found it necessary to re-embark, and then returned to France. During the winter the Spanish galleys were laid up at Rouen, near which Niño met De Trie, the late Admiral of France, of whose domestic establishment the chronicler gives a particular description.[a]

De Trie was succeeded by Sir Clignet de Brabant, and his appointment created much surprise, as Brabant was of obscure birth, and had never "braved the dangers of the sea," or been seen to perform any naval duty.[b] Monstrelet says, that, soon after De Brabant became Admiral of France, he went to Harfleur, intending to put to sea with twelve galleys and six hundred men-at-arms to attack the English; but he was suddenly ordered to return to Paris.[c]

December. On the 11th of December, and apparently in this year, Henry wrote to his Council, acquainting them that by his command, and with their advice, his Navy in the western parts had been impressed for his voyage to Guienne, and had long remained under arrest at their heavy costs, as persons deputed by the masters of those ships had informed him. He therefore de-

[a] Cronica del Conde Don Pedro Niño, Southey's translation, Naval History, II. 20—30.

[b] St. Denys, III. 363.

[c] Monstrelet, cap. XXVI. p. 42.

sired the Council to cause the masters and mariners to A. D. 1405.
be immediately "refreshed" with a sufficient sum for their loss; and, in case it could not be done as soon as he wished, they were to signify to them, that shortly after Christmas they should be so "refreshed" that they ought to be well satisfied, and that they should not be detained after he himself or some other proper person, accompanied by men-at-arms and archers, was ready to conduct the expedition. The King also desired the Council to cause letters to be addressed to his most dear brother of Portugal, informing him that, notwithstanding the truce, the French intended to do all the injury in their power to Guienne, as well by land as by sea; and to pray him to send a sufficient force of galleys to assist his Navy in defending this country and guarding the sea.[a]

It seems to have been at this period that the Council ordered measures to be taken for the guard of the sea in the north, so that Berwick and Fast Castle might be supplied with provisions, considering that the Earl of Mar had long been at sea between Berwick and Newcastle doing much mischief, and capturing all the vessels and victuallers on the coast.[b]

A negotiation had for some time been carried on A. D. 1406.
between the merchants and ship-owners of England and the King's Council, respecting the guard of the sea, and when Parliament met, on the 1st of March March.
1406, the subject was brought under its consideration; but, as the business could not then be settled, on account of the difficulty of arranging the conditions, and

[a] Privy Council, I. 280. The only date to this letter is, "At our castle at Hertford, the 11th of December."

[b] Proc. Privy Council, II. 94.

A. D. 1406. because Parliament would soon be dissolved, the King, at the request of the Commons, appointed six of their number, Sir John Tiptoft, Sir Hugh Lutterel, Sir Roger Leche, Sir Thomas Skelton, Sir John Dalingrigge, and Lawrence Drue, to treat with the Council, and to conclude the affair. The merchants and ship-owners offered to undertake the guard of the sea from the 1st of May 1406 to the 29th of September 1407, upon certain conditions; and their propositions, with the King's answers, were entered on the Parliamentary rolls. The whole proceeding forms so remarkable an event in the naval and commercial history of this country, that a short abstract of this curious document will be given:—

The merchants, mariners, and ship-owners of England, who had offered to exert their "loyal power" for the safeguard of the sea against all enemies, except the royal power of the King's enemies,[a] from the 1st day of May 1406 until the 29th of September 1407, with as many ships, barges, and balingers as might be necessary, were to maintain two thousand fighting-men, besides mariners, from the 1st of May to the 1st of November; one thousand fighting-men from that time to the 1st of May next after; and two thousand men for the remainder of the term. It was agreed that the merchants and ship-owners should be paid twelve-pence in the pound, and three shillings for every tun of wine, as well as the fourth part of the subsidy of wools, woolfells, and hides that had been granted in the last Parliament; that they should re-

[a] "Except poair roiall des enemys nostre dit seigneur le Roy;" meaning, probably, a Royal fleet, as distinguished from what would be now called privateers.

tain whatever they might capture from the enemy in A. D. 1406.
war, notwithstanding any privilege or prerogative of the King, his Admirals, or others; that all booty or prize-money should be distributed among them in the usual manner, provided, however, that the King should have all chieftains that might be taken, his Majesty paying the captors a reasonable reward for them.

The merchants requested ready payment of 4000*l.* as a gift and "reward," in consequence of the great power and hostility of the enemy, which was daily increasing at sea, and of the great gain which they had had of the merchants, as well of their goods as in ransoms; but the King informed them that there were no means of complying with their wishes.[a] They desired, in case ("which God forbid!") the royal power of the enemy came to sea, and that the King sent any force to resist them, they might have sufficient warning to join his forces; and they were assured that they should be informed of such an event within one month. If a peace or truce were made, the merchants were to be acquainted therewith, and be allowed the tonnage and poundage for a quarter of a year, with authority to levy the same; and, if it were insufficient, payment of the remainder was to be granted them by Parliament. The merchants also requested to have commissions under the Great Seal to compel the assistance of all necessary persons in the ports of the realm, with power to make proclamations, and to try and punish those who acted against that ordinance, according to the law and custom of the sea; and, in case any robbery or injury were committed upon the friends

[a] "il n'y ad de quoy."

A. D. 1406. and allies of the King by any merchants or others who were not parties to that ordinance, nor serving in their fleet, that they might not be held responsible for such misconduct; but that the place where the vessel committing the robbery might be, should answer for the act, as well to the King as to the parties aggrieved. The King consented that the merchants should appoint two persons, one for the south and the other for the north, who should receive by the King's commission such power as had been granted to other Admirals, and who were to punish malefactors.[a]

The merchants having nominated Richard Clyderow their Admiral in the south and west, and Nicholas Blackburne in the north,[b] commissions were issued to
April. those persons on the 28th of April, which recited the agreement that had been made in Parliament with the merchants, and granted them the usual powers of
May. Admirals.[c] On the 15th of May the Speaker of the Commons requested the King to allow Clyderow, who was a knight of the shire for Kent, to proceed to sea with his retinue; and that, if he were accused of anything during his absence, the King would place no faith in the charge, nor blame him, until he had an opportunity of answering; and to permit his colleague, Robert Clifford, to act for him in Parliament, to all of which demands the King consented.[d]

Many French ships being at sea, which threatened to land on the coasts of England, a general array of soldiers was ordered to be made to resist them.[e] The Princess Philippa, who had for some years been con-

[a] Rot. Parl. III. 569—571.
[b] Ibid. p. 602.
[c] Fœdera, VIII. 439.
[d] Rot. Parl. III. 572.
[e] Rot. Pat. 7 Hen. IV. pt. 2, m. 31. d.

tracted to Eric, King of Denmark, sailed for that A. D. 14
country about August; and the ship that conveyed her was armed with two guns, forty pounds of powder, forty stone shot, forty tampons,[a] twenty-four bows, forty sheaves of arrows, forty pavises, four touches, and two fire-pans.[b] The Danish queen embarked at Lynn,[c] attended by Richard, brother of the Duke of York, and the Bishop of Bath;[d] and was conducted to her husband's dominions by the merchants' Admiral, Nicholas Blackburne[e].

In the spring of 1406 the Spanish galleys went to Harfleur, where Niño was again joined by De Savoisy, and they resolved to attack the coast of Suffolk, expecting to surprise some place on the river Orwell. But when they arrived, meaning to approach in the night and make the attempt at daybreak, a gale arose which forced them to sea. After having been driven, with great danger, they knew not where, they were glad to put into the Zwijn. The people of Sluys, who were dreading a visit from the English, rejoiced at their arrival; and Niño's French comrades would have made prizes of four Portuguese ships which arrived while they were at Sluys, upon the plea, that, being allies of England, they were to be considered as enemies of France; but the Portu-

[a] The number being the same as of shot, renders it more likely that tompons were wads than what are now called tompions.

[b] Fœdera, VIII. 447.

[c] Capgrave says he witnessed her embarkation:—"Unicam filiam hujus excellentissimi Regis ego vidi in villa de Lenne, ubi navem intravit, cum Angliam relinquens ad conjugium regis Norwegie festinavit. Hæc est quidem regalis progenies quam ego oculis conspexi." Capgrave, "De Laudibus Henricorum." Cotton MSS., Tiberius A. VIII. fo. 59.

[d] Walsingham, p. 419; Otterbourne, p. 259.

[e] On the 11th of June 1408 Blackburne was paid 166*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* for protecting the sea, and for conducting the Queen to Denmark. Issue Roll, 9 Hen. IV. (ed. Devon) p. 309.

A. D. 1406. guese appealed to Niño for protection, claiming the benefit of the truce between Castile and Portugal; and, upon his interference, De Savoisy, greatly against his will, left them unmolested.

Having repaired their ships and refreshed themselves, they proceeded to Calais. Niño thought to have cut out some vessels which were lying in the harbour; but the town was provided with cannon, which made him keep at a distance, and enter the port of Nieulet, where the French maintained a garrison. On the morrow he put to sea, and standing for the English coast, descried an English fleet. A council was called, and the weather being calm, Niño proposed to attack them. De Savoisy, however, represented that the fleet consisted of many ships, and that some of them were large ones; that they were far from the land, and if the wind should come in, as it seldom failed in that sea, they would find themselves in great danger. But the Spaniard replied, that they ought to take advantage of the calm while it lasted, and do their duty; that the enemy were every day infesting Spain and France; there was now a fair opportunity of fighting them; nothing could be worse than to give them reason to say that the allies were afraid of them; and that, if he had thought he were thus to shun the enemy instead of seeking them, never would he have come to France. Savoisy's caution proceeded from no want of courage: he took Niño's warmth in good part; and, submitting to his will, declared himself ready to obey his orders.

The first preparation which the Spaniard made for action, was to give his people what is now called "Dutch courage," by serving an allowance of wine,

which was not commonly used in the galleys, or only A.D. 14
in small quantities; but then, says the chronicler, "it is very necessary, and of great profit, and gives strength and spirit to those who drink it; and this is the wine of which the prophet speaks, when he says that it gladdens the heart of man." Meantime the English hoisted their flags at the stern, and formed in line of battle, the larger balingers in front, the smaller behind, which vessels are described as low-built and long, and some of them as using both oars and sails. They had ten large ships to support them; and the Spaniards admired the appearance of the archers and men-at-arms as they were drawn up for action. Niño was provided with viretons, dipped in some combustible composition, which were, when kindled, to be discharged from crossbows, in order to set the enemy's sails on fire. With these he had little success, his people not having the same inclination for coming to close quarters that he himself displayed. Nor was he more fortunate in endeavouring to direct what may be called a fire-boat against the English balingers, by thrusting it towards them with a long pole or yard from the head of his own galley, for the English kept it off with their long spears, and drove it back upon him, so that it proved alike dangerous, or rather alike harmless, to both parties. Presently, as Savoisy had forewarned Niño, the wind sprung up, and filled the sails of the English ships. The French made all speed toward their own shore, and the other Spanish galleys, seeing their danger, waited not for orders to take the same course; but Niño himself and his crew were so intent upon their fire-boat, and the interchange of quarrels and arrows which was kept up the while, that

A. D. 1406. the ships were bearing down upon him before he was informed it was time to think of escaping. With more of bravado than of true bravery, he exclaimed, that he would either be carried into England, or carry the enemy into France, or die, as it might please God; but, without contradicting him, or losing any time in words, his men veered the galley round, and pulled off with all their strength. When ten of the enemy's lighter vessels came up with his galley, and, not venturing to close with it, sought to detain it till more force should come up, one of the French balingers manœuvred with great skill and courage for its relief, and having got the weather-gage, bore down upon the English, passed safely through them, ran against one of the vessels which was pressing upon Niño, so as to carry away her bowsprit, and render her unmanageable, and, though not without some injury from the shock, passed on and saved herself, having singly ventured upon what the whole squadron had feared to undertake. The wind lulled as the Spaniards drew nearer the shore, and Niño got into Gravelines, flattering himself, that if the calm had continued another hour, he should have captured that whole fleet, and have had among his prisoners the King of England's daughter, who was on board with her suite and her riches, on the way to her marriage with the Duke of Holland.[a]

This passage strengthens the doubt of the accuracy of the standard-bearer's statements, which other parts of his narrative had excited. The Princess Blanch

[a] "Aquella flota armó el Rey de Inglaterra, é enviaba en ella una su fija a casar con el Duque de Olanda, é muches grandes caballeros con ella, é grandes señoras, damas, é damiselas, é grand riqueza; así que tenia bien con que se quejar." Cap. XXXVIII. p. 149.

was conveyed to her husband, the Duke of Bavaria, A. D. 14
about April 1402; and, though the young Queen of Denmark left England in August 1406, it is scarcely possible that her voyage should have been endangered by the enemy, without so remarkable a fact being mentioned by some English writer. Moreover, the encounter is said to have occurred off Calais, but Philippa sailed from Lynn; and it is very unlikely that her ships were driven forty leagues out of their course into the Straits of Dover.

The French and Genoese squadron having obtained the assistance of the Bretons, attacked Jersey, on which they levied a contribution of 10,000 crowns, and plundered of cattle of all kinds. The Spanish fleet was then ordered home, but the galleys were nearly lost on the coast of Brittany.[a]

De Gamez's narrative is only partially corroborated by the Monk of St. Denys; and, though he refers to some of these transactions, he gives a very different account of them, and takes no notice of the others. The English had, he says, overrun the coast of France with a numerous fleet, marking their track by fire and pillage, and every where committing acts of horrible piracy; but the French retaliated. Sir Charles de Savoisy, cruising off Calais, met two merchant-ships at anchor, waiting for a fair wind, which he burnt. Two English sailors, called "Captain" and "Battle," who were celebrated among their piratical countrymen for their bravery, were returning after a successful cruise with five vessels, of which one was an armed galley, escorting two merchant-men, having on board an En-

[a] Chronica del Conde Don Pedro Niño, p. 165. Southey's Translation, II. 34, 35.

A. D. 1406. glish bishop and a numerous suite of priests. When they had reached the mouth of the Thames, they were overtaken by the French, who had been appointed to guard the ships of the master of the crossbows, and who had long looked out for them. The enemy's vessels having cautiously brailed up their sails, attacked the ship containing the priests, thinking her the best prize. That vessel soon surrendered, and they proceeded to the others, which defended themselves for two hours, and were then captured. Five hundred men were slain, and three hundred made prisoners. The Monk adds, that the English were reported to have been so irritated by this circumstance, that, from hatred of the French, they sent back to the Duke of Brittany his two sisters, whom the queen their mother had brought with her to England.[a]

October. In October the King took all the fishermen belonging to France, Flanders, and Brittany, with their ships and boats, into his protection until February in the following year.[b] Though on the 5th of October ambassadors were sent to treat for a peace with France, and to negotiate a marriage between the Prince of Wales and a French princess,[c] yet, on the 20th of that month, troops were commanded to be raised in all the counties, and sent to London, to proceed with the King to Calais, in consequence of the Duke of Orleans having marched upon Guienne, and the Duke of Burgundy and the Lord of Hengueville being about to besiege Calais.[d]

[a] St. Denys, III. 462—464. These ladies and other Bretons were sent back to Brittany at the request of Parliament. Rot. Parl. III. 573; Otterbourne, p. 259.

[b] Fœdera, VIII. p. 451.

[c] Ibid. p. 453.

[d] Ibid. p. 456.

The French sent thirty-eight ships in this year to the assistance of Owen Glendower, in Wales, eight of which, full of soldiers, were captured; and not long afterwards the merchants who had undertaken the custody of the sea took fifteen ships laden with wine and wax.[a] A. D. 1406. October.

The plan of confiding the custody of the sea to merchants and ship-owners, as might have been expected, failed; and that duty was resumed by the King, who ought not to have delegated it to other hands. On the 20th of October, in consequence of the repeated complaints of his subjects and allies, that the sea had not been well kept by the merchants, but that robberies and aggressions had been committed, and were likely to be continued, Henry directed the collectors of the subsidies which had been assigned to the merchants not to make any farther payments to them.[b] In November the Commons requested that the merchants might be paid the tonnage and poundage according to the agreement; and the King replied, that, in the first place, the merchants should be released from the guard of the seas; and he desired that the Council might be empowered by Parliament to examine and settle their accounts.[c] The commissions to Clyderow and Blackburne appear to have been superseded on the 23rd of December, by the appointment of the Earl of Somerset as Admiral of England. November. December.

Walsingham relates a curious circumstance in this year. About the feast of St. Martin, when the English ships were going to Bordeaux, they entered a sea which had not been frequented by the sailors of

[a] Walsingham, p. 419. [b] Fœdera, VIII. 455.
[c] Rot. Parl. III. 603, 610.

A. D. 1406. this country, and four vessels belonging to Lynn were suddenly swallowed up by a whirlpool which was said to exist in the Spanish sea, and which, thrice every day, swallowed up the flood and vomited it forth again. The accident happened in sight of the other ships, who, by altering their course and trimming their sails, avoided the danger and reached Bordeaux in safety.[a]

A. D. 1407. Though hostilities in Guienne had been suspended until September 1408,[b] the King signified his intention, on the 5th of February 1407, of proceeding to France to resist the Dukes of Orleans and Burgundy; and he repeated his commands for all knights, esquires, valets, and other fighting-men, to be sent to London.[c]

February.

[a] Walsingham, p. 420.

[b] Fœdera, VIII. 507, 515. A curious circumstance is related by Hall in this year, but no earlier authority has been found for it, nor is it corroborated by any other known fact. "In this summer the pestilential plague so infected the city of London and the country round about, that the King durst not repair thither, nor yet near to the confines of the same; wherefore he, departing from the castle of Leeds, determined to take ship at Queenborough, in the isle of Shepey, and to sail over to Lye, in Essex, and so to Plasshy, there to pass his time till the plague were ceased: and because certain pirates of France were lurking at the Thames mouth, waiting for their prey, Thomas Lord Camois, with certain ships of war, was appointed to waft over the King. When the King was on the sea, in the midst of his journey, whether the wind turned, or that the Lord Camois kept not a direct course, or that his ship was but a slug, the Frenchmen, which by all similitude had knowledge of the King's passage, entered amongst the King's navy, and took four vessels next to the King's ship, and in one of them Sir Thomas Rampston, knight, the King's vice-chamberlain, with all his chamber stuff and apparel, and followed the King so near, that, if his ship had not been swift, he had landed sooner in France than in Essex, but, by God's provision and fortunate chance, he escaped the danger, and arrived at his appointed port. The King, being sore moved with the Lord Camois, caused him to be attached and indicted, that he condescended and agreed with the Frenchmen that the King in his journey should be intercepted and taken. On this point he was arraigned the last day of October, before Edmond Earl of Kent, that day high steward of the realm; on which day, were he guilty or guiltless, faulty or clear, culpable or innocent of that fact and doing, he was by his peers found not guilty, and dismissed at the bar, having restitution both of his lands, goods, and offices." Ed. 1809, p. 36.

[c] Fœdera, VIII. 466.

On the 8th of May Edmund Earl of Kent succeeded the Earl of Somerset as Admiral of England;[a] and in June soldiers were ordered to be levied and arrayed to resist the enemy.[b] A. D. 1407. June.

During the siege of Bourg by the Duke of Orleans, Sir Clugnet de Brabant, Admiral of France, sailed with twenty-two ships full of men-at-arms to meet the English, who were at sea in great force. The fleets encountered each other, and a sharp action took place, in which many were killed and wounded on both sides, and the fleets separated. The French lost, however, one ship, in which were Lionnelt de Bracquemont, Ame de St. Martin, and several other persons belonging to the Duke of Orleans, who were carried to Bordeaux. The French Admiral then returned to Bourg, and informed Orleans of what had occurred.[c] Walsingham states, that, in this year, Henry Pay, and some of the men of the Cinque Ports, captured one hundred and twenty ships laden with iron, salt, and wine, while they were lying at anchor, apparently on the coast of Brittany.[d]

In March 1408 the merchants stated to the King's Council that many ships had been captured at sea by the enemy, and prayed that measures might be taken to enable them to proceed in safety to the staple, and that the sea might be guarded according to the condition of the grant that had been lately made in the Parliament at Gloucester.[e] They were informed that the King had ordered his Admiral to put to sea very A. D. 1408. March.

[a] Rot. Pat. 8 Hen. IV. pt. 2, m. 13.
[b] Ibid. pt. 1, m. 31. d.
[c] Monstrelet, cap. XXVIII. p. 45.
[d] "in mari Britannico." Walsingham, p. 418.
[e] Rot. Parl. III. 609.

A. D. 1408. shortly for its protection.[a] The fleet under the Earl of Kent proceeded to the coast of Brittany in September, and attacked the castle of Brehac. Incautiously approaching the fortress without his basinet, the earl was mortally wounded by an arrow in the head on the 15th of that month;[b] and on the 21st of September. September Sir Thomas Beaufort was appointed Admiral of the north fleet for life;[c] but the office of Admiral of the western fleet was not then filled up.

October. In October, a truce, to which the King of France was a party, was made with the Duke of Burgundy for three years, on the sea between St. Valery and Winchelsea, to enable merchants, pilgrims, and ecclesiastics going to or returning from Rome to pass freely between England and France, and in which the fishermen of both countries were included.[d] A truce was also concluded with France for Picardy, from the Somme to Gravelings, and on the whole of West Flanders, Aquitaine, and the comté of Thoulouse, and on the sea generally until the 1st of May 1410. It was agreed that all aggressions on the territories, ships, goods, and persons of either country should absolutely cease; and that, if any vessel were forced by contrary winds or storms, or were chased into a port by an enemy, pirates, or robbers, or ran ashore, whereby the

[a] Proc. Privy Council, I. 306, 308.

[b] Walsingham, p. 420; Otterbourne, p. 264, who erroneously calls the earl "Thomas;" Esch. 10 Hen. IV. No. 51. The death of the Earl of Kent is thus quaintly described in the Chronicle of London (p. 91): "Also this yere the Erle of Kent was selayn thorugh his oone folye at Bryak, in Brittany, for he rood withoughte basnet, and was marked with a quarell." Fabyan says (p. 573) that the earl had "scoryd and skymmyd the sea ryght well and manfully."

[c] Rot. Patent. 10 Hen. IV. pt. 2, m. 9.

[d] Fœdera, III. 537—550.

vessel might be wrecked, such port not being comprised in the truce for the land, such vessel should be allowed to remain there in safety.[a] A. D. 1409.

On the 27th of July 1409, Sir Thomas Beaufort, having surrendered his patent as Admiral of the northern fleet, was appointed Admiral of the northern and western fleets, and also Admiral of the fleets of Ireland and Aquitaine in Picardy, for life;[b] and he was generally styled Admiral of England. In January in the following year he was made Lord Chancellor, and held that high judicial office, together with that of Admiral of England, for two years,[c] being thus, apparently, the only instance in which those incongruous situations have been united in one person. Sir Thomas Beaufort who was then a Knight of the Garter, was created Earl of Dorset in July 1411, and Duke of Exeter in November 1416.

The appearance of French barges and balingers off the northern coast in October, rendered precautionary measures necessary; and on the 17th an embargo was laid upon all vessels in St. Botolph and some other ports, but which was removed on the 28th of the same month, when those vessels were allowed to proceed to Calais.[d] October.

Complaints were again made to Parliament, in January 1410, of the encroachments of the Admiral on the courts of common law, and the statutes were or- A. D. 1410. January.

[a] Fœdera, III. 552.

[b] Rot. Pat. 10 Hen. IV. p. 2, m. 9.

[c] In June 1411, Sir Thomas Beaufort prayed to be allowed to resign the Great Seal, being then occupied with other duties; and the King directed the Master of the Rolls to act as Chancellor for him; but he was not superseded until the 5th of January 1412, when the Archbishop of Canterbury was made chancellor. Hardy's Catalogue of Lords Chancellor, p. 48.

[d] Rot. Claus. 11 Hen. IV. m. 38 and m. 36.

A. D. 1410. dered to be enforced.[a] Sir Thomas Beaufort, who, as Admiral of England and Ireland, was one of the conservators of the truce, was sent to Whitsand in January to confer with Sir James de Chastillon, Admiral of France, upon certain matters relating to the truce, which had induced the King to countermand the embassy that was about to proceed to France; and the two Admirals were to meet at Calais and Boulogne on the 15th of March.[b] A renewal of hostilities seemed at that moment so likely to happen, that soldiers were ordered to be arrayed to defend the Isle of Thanet, in consequence of an expected attack by the French.[c]

June. In June, however, the truce was prolonged until the 1st of November, thence to the 1st of January, and afterwards from time to time;[d] and the Admirals of France and England were again directed to confer and adopt measures to prevent its being broken.[e] A truce had also been made with Spain.[f]

Sir Robert Umfreville who had been made Vice-Admiral of England, annoyed the Scottish coast with ten ships of war for fourteen consecutive days, and

[a] Rot. Parl. III. 625, 642.

[b] Fœdera, VIII. 621.

[c] Rot. Pat. 11 Hen. IV. pt. 2, m. 24. d.

[d] Fœdera, VIII. 643, 656, 671.

[e] Ibid. 652, 653. Among the MS. collections for a new edition of the Fœdera, is a paper in French, entitled "Articles for the security of the sea against pirates and sea robbers," without date, but assigned in the index to the 5th October, 10 Hen. IV., 1408. It was more probable, however, that those articles were drawn up upon this occasion. The first is the most important:—

"First, that all ships or armed vessels cease to go by sea; and that the admirals of the two realms cause all the said ships and vessels to be disarmed in each of the said kingdoms; and that it be so ordained that no armed ship leave any ports of the said kingdom without having express licence from their sovereign lord by his letters verified by their admirals or their lieutenants, so that it may be known for what purpose they would go armed, and whither they would go during this present truce." The Admirals of both countries were to arm barges and pursue piratical vessels wherever they might hear of them Addit. MSS. 4598, f. 401.

[f] Fœdera, VIII. 625.

burnt a celebrated galiot of Scotland, with many vessels, at Blackness, opposite to Leith. Having captured fourteen ships laden with cloth, pitch, tar, meal, and other commodities, he brought them to England; and, as these articles were much required, Umfreville obtained the surname of "Robert Mend-market."[a] A. D. 1410.

The quarterly expence of wages and rewards of the men-at-arms, archers, masters, constables, and mariners, together with the allowance called "ton-tight," of 3*s.* 4*d.* for the wear and tear of ships, amounted to 8240*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*; and there were forty masters and forty constables, and six hundred and thirty-six sailors, in twenty ships, barges, and balingers.[b] The safeguard of the sea cost 6241*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* for one quarter and half a quarter of a year.[c]

An envoy was sent in 1411 to the King's sister, the Queen of Castile, to treat for a prolongation of the truce, and to settle a dispute that had arisen out of the capture of some Spanish vessels by the English. The envoy was also instructed to acquaint the Queen that Henry particularly desired to have one of her ships, called the "Saint Mary," which was then at St. Sebastian, and he was to entreat her majesty to allow him to buy that vessel.[d] The affairs of Guienne having rendered the King's presence necessary, Henry made preparations to proceed to that province; and, on the 3rd of September, every ship, barge, and balinger, and A. D. 1411. September.

[a] Hardyng (ed. Ellis, pp. 365, 366) says it occurred in the 11th of Henry IV., 1409—10. The circumstance is not mentioned by Walsingham, Otterbourne, in the Polychronicon, Fabyan, nor in the Chronicle of London; but it is repeated by Stowe (p. 339).

[b] Proc. Privy Council, I. 327, 328.

[c] Ibid. p. 346.

[d] Ibid. II. 25, 118, 119.

A. D. 1411. other vessel carrying thirty tons and upwards, in all the ports of England, with the requisite masters and mariners, were ordered to be impressed and sent to London for the voyage.[a]

A. D. 1412. March. In March 1412 William Loveney was made keeper of the King's ships; and sailors were directed to be impressed; and the Prince of Wales, as warden of the May. Cinque Ports, was commanded in May to send their ships for the King's voyage.[b]

In this year Sir John Prendergast and William Long, who were employed in keeping the sea free of pirates, were accused of robbery and other illegal proceedings. Prendergast sought an asylum at Westminster, and was obliged to take refuge under a tent near the vestibule of the abbey, placing guards by his side, lest he should be seized by the King's officers during the night. Meanwhile his colleague William Long remained at sea; but the Admiral having gone after him with some armed vessels, Long gave himself up, on being solemnly assured that no harm should be done to him; but, notwithstanding the Admiral's promises, he was committed to the Tower.[c]

In the autumn, Sir Thomas of Lancaster, the King's second son, who was created Duke of Clarence, was sent to Guienne with a large army, to assist the Dukes of Berry, Orleans, and Bourbon, who had agreed to deliver the duchy of Guienne up to the King of England, "as loyal vassals and lieges ought."[d] Some sailors of Devon and Cornwall having captured vessels

[a] Fœdera, VIII. 700.

[b] Pat. 13 Hen. IV. pt. 2, m. 21, and m. 17. d.; Fœdera, VIII. 730, 733.

[c] Walsingham, p. 423.

[d] Fœdera, VIII. 746, 747, 774.

and goods belonging to Brittany, contrary to the truce, A. D. 1412.
orders were issued on the 5th of July for their resto- July.
ration;[a] and letters of marque and reprisals were granted in this year to the owners of goods that had been captured in a hulk of Zealand, by the Lord of Pons, during the truce with France. Similar letters were granted against the citizens of Genoa on the 3rd of February 1413, for having seized a ship laden with A. D. 1413.
wool belonging to some merchants of London; and against the inhabitants of St. Andero, in Spain, which led to the unjust detention of a Spanish balinger that was driven by a storm into Dartmouth.[b]

It has been said, that in the last year of his life Henry the Fourth contemplated making a pilgrimage to Jerusalem; and that many war galleys were prepared for his voyage;[c] but that he was struck with mortal illness while offering at St. Edward's shrine, to take his leave; and, being removed to the Jerusalem chamber, expired there on the 20th of March March.
1413.[d]

[a] Fœdera, VIII. 764.
[b] Ibid. pp. 755, 772, 773.
[c] Money was borrowed, and other preparations made, in April 1412, for the King's "voyage on the sea," but they appear to have been for his expedition to Guienne. Fœdera, VIII. 730, 733.
[d] Polychronicon, f. 318. b.; Fabyan, p. 576.

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CHAPTER VI.

HENRY THE FIFTH IMPROVES THE NAVY.—PRUSSIAN HULKS TAKEN.—PIRACY MADE HIGH TREASON.—THE KING'S EXPEDITION TO HARFLEUR.—SIEGE AND CAPITULATION.—AGINCOURT.—CAPTURE OF THE "CHRISTOPHER" OF HULL.—FLEET SENT AGAINST THE FRENCH.—DUKE OF BEDFORD'S VICTORY OVER THE FRENCH FLEET OFF HARFLEUR.—ACTION WITH A CARACK OFF CALAIS.—TRUCE WITH FRANCE.—EXPEDITION TO NORMANDY.—ROYAL NAVY IN 1417.—SIR THOMAS CAREW APPOINTED TO GUARD THE SEA.—EARL OF HUNTINGDON DEFEATS THE FRENCH FLEET.—THE KING LANDS AT TOUQUE.—PORTSMOUTH FORTIFIED.—SPANIARDS FIT OUT A FLEET.—THE KING COMES TO ENGLAND BUT RETURNS TO FRANCE.—DEATH OF HENRY THE FIFTH.

A. D. 1413. No monarch of England ever took greater interest in her Navy than HENRY THE FIFTH. He not only commanded large ships to be built, but personally inspected their progress; and though he was not, as has been said, its founder, he gave more powerful vessels to the Royal Navy than it ever before possessed, with the determination to acquire the dominion of the sea.[a]

[a] The patriotic author of "the Libel of English Policie, exhorting all England to keepe the sea, and namely the Narrowe Sea; shewing what profite commeth thereof, and also what worship and salvation to England and to all Englishmen," which was written between 1426 and 1437, says—

"And if I should conclude all by the King
Henrie the Fift what was his purposing,
Whan at Hampton he made the great dromons,
Which passed other great ships of all the commons,
The Trinitie, the Grace de Dieu, the Holy Ghost,
And other moe, which as nowe bee lost,
What hope ye was the King's great intent
Of thoo shippes, and what in minde he meant?
It was not ellis but that hee cast to bee
Lorde round about environ of the See."

Henry's large ships are also men-

His efforts to restore and improve the English Navy were amply rewarded; for while the most celebrated event of his reign rivalled Poictiers and Cressy, the battle of Agincourt was, like those glorious victories, followed by encounters on the ocean in which British valour was displayed in the usual manner, and was attended by the usual success. A. D. 1413

The first circumstance of a maritime nature which is mentioned, after Henry's accession, might have occurred shortly before that event. Parliament met in May 1413, and some merchants of Dartmouth and other places, owners of eight ships, stated that those vessels had been impressed at Bordeaux by the Duke of Clarence, lieutenant of Guienne, to bring some of his soldiers to England; that he appointed Sir John Colville "governor and captain" for the voyage; that, when they reached Belle Isle, they fell in with two hulks of Prussia laden with wine, coming from Rochelle; and, being desirous of ascertaining whether those hulks and their cargoes belonged to the enemy, Colville sent a boat with one of his esquires and the masters of two of his ships, to examine their bills of lading,[a] and to inform the masters of the hulks, that, if they had any enemy's property on board, they should deliver it up to him, and he would pay them for the May.

tioned in a Chronicle in the Trinity Church of Winchester, quoted by Hakluyt, (ed. 1599, vol. i. p. 185.) After noticing the action off Harfleur in 1416, the writer says:—

"Sequenti vero anno redierunt potentiores, et iterum devicti perpetuam pacem cum Rege composuerunt, et propter eorum naves fecit Rex fieri naves quales non erant in mundo. De his sic conductis a Francis ita metricè scribitur:—

"Regum belligero trito celeberrimus arvo
Gallos, Hispanos, Janos, devicit et urget,
Vastat; turbantur cætera regna metu,
Navali bello bis devicti quoque Jani."

[a] "chartres de lour affrettemenz."

A. D. 1413. freight of it; that the Prussians refused to give any answer, but the next morning attacked the English who had gone on board the hulks, and killed many of them; and that the hulks were captured and brought to Southampton and Pool, where they were then lying. The merchants prayed the King that the Prussian hulks might not be restored until it were determined whether those vessels and their cargoes were or were not forfeited, and if the captors ought to have them; or otherwise to remit the cause to the Admiralty court. The petitioners were informed that the King would appoint commissioners to investigate and determine the matter.[a]

In June Thomas Earl of Dorset was reappointed Admiral of England, Ireland, Aquitaine, and Picardy.[b] The subsisting truce with France was ratified by Charles in May, and ambassadors were sent to him for the settlement of all matters of contention between
July. the two countries in July 1413.[c] So many armed vessels of the enemy were at sea, to intercept ships going to Guienne for the vintage, that orders were issued, on the 26th of August, that no vessel should proceed singly, but with a sufficient number of others
A. D. 1414. to defend themselves.[d] To prevent, in the most effectual manner, any hostilities between the vessels of England and Spain, it was stipulated in the treaty for a
February. truce for one year, that no armed ship belonging to either nation should leave any port without having given security not to molest the subjects or property of the other state.[e]

[a] Rot. Parl. IV. 12, 13.
[b] Rot. Pat. 1 Hen. V. m. 12.
[c] Fœdera, IX. 36, 39.
[d] Fœdera, IX. 47.
[e] Ibid. p. 115.

One of the most honourable acts of Henry's life occurred in May in this year, but which is mentioned without comment alike by his judicious and accurate biographer,[a] and by his indiscriminate but well-meaning panegyrist.[b] Impressed with the cruelty of those piratical proceedings which had long disgraced most maritime countries, and particularly England, Henry determined to repress such conduct in his own subjects, without stipulating that other governments should do the same, being satisfied with setting an example of humanity and justice to the nations of Europe—an enlightened policy far in advance of his time. When Parliament met, the chancellor pointed out the frequent infractions of truces which had been committed on the high sea, in the ports, and on the coasts of the realm, whereby many persons who were protected by truces, and others who had safe-conducts, had been killed, or robbed and pillaged, to the great dishonour and scandal of the King, and against his dignity, the which offenders had been encouraged and supported by the people in many counties. It was therefore enacted, that such proceedings should be considered high treason; that a conservator of the truce should be appointed in each port to inquire into those offences, and to punish the parties; and that two lawyers should be joined in all commissions issued to that officer. Masters of ships, balingers, and other vessels were to swear before the conservator, previous to sailing, that they would observe the truces; and that if they captured any thing, they would bring it

A. D. 1411 May.

[a] "The History of the Reign of Henry the Fifth," by Thomas Goodwin, (folio, 1704,) a learned and most accurate work.

[b] "Henry of Monmouth, or Memoirs of the Life and Character of Henry the Fifth. By J. Endell Tyler, B.D." 2 vols. 8vo. 1830.

A. D. 1414. into their port, and make a full report to him before the goods were sold.[a]

July. In July Henry asserted his right to the crown of France; and various negotiations took place, with the object, it was said, of obtaining an amicable settlement of his claim. Parliament met again in September, and the chancellor's speech contained clear indications of an approaching war;[b] but the only actual preparations for hostilities in this year were the directions

September. which were issued on the 22nd of September to the King's master gunner and engineer, to impress workmen, and a general prohibition on the 26th to export gunpowder.[c] Henry had, however, some time before directed ships to be built; for in July, 496*l.* were paid for building his great ship the "Holy Ghost," at Southampton; and other large vessels were afterwards constructed at that port for him.[d] Two Admirals of Ireland, whose jurisdiction extended "from Wykynglone Head to Lepisylond," were appointed for life in this year.[e]

A. D. 1415. February. In February 1415 the Council proposed to make arrangements for the safeguard of the sea "during the King's voyage;" and they thought it expedient to provide two large ships, five barges, and five balingers, filled with men-at-arms, archers, and sailors. These vessels were to be stationed in the following manner:— From Plymouth to the Isle of Wight, two ships of one hundred and twenty tons, two barges of one hundred tons each, and one balinger. From that island to

[a] Stat. 2 Hen. V. c. 6; Rot. Parl. III. 23.

[b] Rot. Parl. IV. 35.

[c] Fœdera, IX. 159, 160.

[d] Issue Roll, Easter, 2 Hen. V., ed. Devon, p. 335. In March 1417 the sum of 500*l.* was paid for building the "Grace Dieu" at that port. Ibid. p. 349.

[e] Rot. Pat. 2 Hen. V., m. 22.

Orfordness, two barges of the same tonnage and two balingers. From Orfordness to Berwick, one barge and two balingers. Every ship and barge was to have forty-eight mariners, twenty-six men-at-arms, and twenty-six archers; and each of the balingers, forty mariners, ten men-at-arms, and ten archers: making altogether five hundred and thirty-six sailors, two hundred and fifty-three men-at-arms, and two hundred and fifty-three archers, and a total of one thousand and forty men.[a] A. D. 1415

As the enemy had a large fleet at sea for the purpose of invading this country, and as the Earl of Dorset, Admiral of England, was in the King's service abroad, Sir Thomas Carew and Sir Gilbert Talbot, of Irchenfeld, were appointed, on the 18th of February, captains and leaders of the men-at-arms and archers who were going to sea to resist them; and all the usual powers of Admirals to assemble and equip ships, and to maintain discipline according to maritime law,[b] were granted to them.

In March, and again in April, Richard Clyderow and another person were sent to treat with Holland for ships for the King's service.[c] On the 11th of April all ships and vessels carrying twenty or more tons, as well those belonging to foreign countries as to England, were ordered to be arrested in the ports; and these vessels were to be sent to Southampton, London, or Winchelsea by the 8th of May.[d] The masters of the "Katherine," "Nicholas," "Trinity Royal," and of other ships, were soon after empowered March. April.

[a] Proc. Privy Council, II. 145, 146.

[b] Fœdera, IX. 202. Vide the APPENDIX, No. XII.

[c] Fœdera, IX. 160.

[d] Ibid. pp. 216, 218.

A. D. 1415. to impress seamen to man their vessels.[a] An army was raised throughout the realm, and every other preparation made for an expedition of the largest magnitude. Measures were likewise adopted for the safety of the country, by arraying the clergy and laity.[b]

The fleet and army having arrived at Southampton,
June. Henry left London on the 18th of June, and reached Winchester on the 26th. He remained there some days, and received the French ambassadors, who were sent with the hope of preventing a war, by offering large concessions of towns and territories, together with the hand of the Princess Katherine, and an unprecedented sum of money for her marriage portion. The overtures were rejected, and the King proceeded to Titchfield Abbey, near Southampton. No effort had been made in France to resist the invasion; and when Charles's ministers were at length roused to a sense of their danger, they caused an army to be levied, but did not attempt to oppose the armaJuly. ment at sea. The treasonable conspiracy of the Earl of Cambridge, Lord Scrope of Masham, and Sir Thomas Grey, which was only discovered as the troops were about to embark, delayed the expedition until after the truce with France had expired. Justice having been executed on the traitors, and the preparations completed, Henry left Porchester Castle on the 7th of
August. August, in a small vessel for the coast, and was occupied in superintending the embarkation of his army until Saturday the 10th, on which day he went on board his ship, the "Trinity Royal."[c] The King im-

[a] Ibid. pp. 238, 239.

[b] History of the Battle of Agincourt, (2nd edit. 8vo. 1832,) pp. 18 *et seq.*

[c] History of the Battle of Agincourt, pp. 25—45, 184.

mediately ordered the sail-yard of the "Trinity Royal" to be hoisted to the middle of her mast, indicating that he was ready to put to sea, and that all the vessels in the neighbouring havens were to hasten to him.[a] At this time, according to a French writer, one of the ships took fire, and the flames extending to two others, three large vessels with their cargoes were consumed; and the keel of the ship in which the accident happened is said to have flamed brightly out of the water. The mischief would have been more extensive, had not the other ships fallen astern of the burning vessels.[b] A. D. 1415 August.

The fleet consisted of fourteen[c] hundred vessels of various kinds, carrying about six thousand men-at-arms and twenty-four thousand archers; and it quitted England on Sunday the 11th of August. When the ships had passed the Isle of Wight, swans were seen swimming in the midst of the fleet, which was hailed as a happy auspice; and, after a favourable passage, the ships entered the Seine on Tuesday, about five o'clock in the afternoon. Henry anchored off Kidecaus, three miles from Harfleur, where he proposed to disembark, and desired a banner to be hoisted as a signal for his captains to attend a council.[d] An order was then issued, that no one, under pain of death, should land before the King, but that they

[a] "Et statim erigi fecit veli virgam in medio mali ut simul suam promptitudinem velandi ostenderet, et signum daret navigio sparso per loca maritima ad eum cicius quo poterant festinandi." Anon Chron. in the Additional MS. 1776, f. 52, and Cotton MS. Julius E. IV. f. 115b.

[b] St. Remy, p. 82. It is singular that this circumstance should not be mentioned by any English writer, and especially by the priest who accompanied the expedition.

[c] One hundred of the ships were left behind, more having been collected than were wanted. See the authorities in the "History of the Battle of Agincourt," p. 49.

[d] Vide p. 196, *ante*.

A. D. 1415. August. should all be ready to land with him the next morning. At dawn of day, on Wednesday the 14th, the sun shining brightly, and the weather beautiful, the King and the greater part of the army went on shore, between the hours of six and seven, in small vessels, boats, and skiffs, and took up a position on the hill nearest to Harfleur, having on one side a coppice wood towards the Seine, and on the other side farms and orchards, where he continued until the remainder of the troops, horses, and stores, were brought from the ships. The moment Henry landed he fell upon his knees and implored the Divine aid and protection, that he might obtain "justice" from his enemies. He then conferred the honour of knighthood upon many of his followers, and selected those who were most distinguished for valour and strength to bear the banners.

The landing-place was rough and unfavourable, and presented such means of defence, that the priest who accompanied the expedition says, that a few soldiers, "if they had the hearts of men," might have prevented the disembarkation for some time, if not altogether. By Saturday the 17th, every thing being on shore, the army moved towards Harfleur in three battalions, and laid siege to the town. At the entrance of the port were two fine towers, through which the water ebbed and flowed, one of them being very high and commanding, doubly armed at the top and in the centre, and the other armed only at the top. From these towers a chain was drawn across the harbour, and the entrance was farther protected by stakes and trunks of trees, to destroy any vessel that might strike on them.

During the siege the fleet blockaded the port, and the river was filled by boats, which formed a line of communication between the two divisions of the army. The French are said to have placed their ships within the port, and fastened them to each other by chains, and they made many attempts to attack the English fleet, but were always repulsed.[a] After a gallant defence of thirty-six days, Harfleur surrendered on the 22nd of September. On the 5th of October a council was held, in which it was determined, that, as the winter was approaching, the army should return to England; but a discussion arose whether the troops should embark in the fleet or proceed through France. Against the strongest remonstrances of the most prudent of his councillors, Henry insisted upon marching direct to Calais. It was represented to him, but in vain, that his army was greatly reduced by sickness; that the survivors were still suffering from disease, that part of them must be left to garrison Harfleur, and that the enemy had assembled an immense army to resist them. Henry said he was anxious to view the territories which by right were his own; that his trust was in God; and that, if he quitted Harfleur in the manner they proposed, the French would reproach him with cowardice; and that he would, therefore, at all risks, proceed. Having placed the town in a state of defence, and sent some of his prisoners with the sick to England in the fleet, the army left Harfleur about the 8th of October.

A. D. 14 Septemb

October

On the 25th of October Henry gained the glorious victory of Agincourt; and his army having arrived in

[a] Titus Livius, p. 10.

A. D. 1415. November. England with the prisoners, he entered Calais on the 29th of October; and on Saturday the 16th of November embarked for Dover, where he landed late on the same day. The passage was extremely boisterous, and the effect of it upon the French noblemen, the most distinguished of whom were in the King's own ship, is described to have been so severe, that they considered their sufferings on the day of the battle not to have exceeded what they then experienced; and were much astonished that Henry escaped sickness, and appeared as composed as when on land. The storm was so great, that two vessels, in which were the retinue of Sir John Cornwall, according to one writer,[a] perished in it, with all who were on board; but Monstrelet says they were only in much danger, and that some of the other ships, containing prisoners, were driven into the port of Ziricsee, in Holland, though none of the fleet was lost.[b]

In this year some Scottish vessels harassed the northern coast, and two citizens of Newcastle, called Hornsey and Strother, fitted out two balingers at their own expence to resist them. These vessels having captured two Flemish ships, laden, as was alleged, with enemy's property, and brought the prizes to Shields, one of the King's officers seized the ships and took them to Newcastle, where he kept them under arrest. Hornsey and Strother complained to the King of this proceeding, and the officer was ordered to deliver up the vessels' cargoes to them, or to appear before the Council in January and state his reasons for not doing so. The officer, however, acted properly on

[a] Titus Livius, p. 22.

[b] History of the Battle of Agincourt, pp. 53 *et seq.*

the occasion; for, in January 1416, the ships, with every thing on board of them, were restored to the Flemings, according to the conditions of the truce with Flanders.[a] A. D. 1416. January.

Parliament met on the 16th of March, when the Commons presented several petitions relating to the Navy. They complained that vessels and boats going to the north had been arrested by the King's officers to carry provisions and fuel to some castles, paying nothing for their use, and that these officers had committed various abuses, contrary to the statute of Edward the First, which provided that no horses, cattle, carts, ships, or boats should be seized for conveyance, against the will of the owners. That statute, as well as all others on the subject, was ordered to be enforced. The Commons then stated, that, from beyond the time of memory until the last reign, the owners of ships had been allowed 3*s.* 4*d.* a quarter per ton for every vessel in the King's service, besides the wages of their crews, but that since that time the said tonnage had been discontinued, whereby many ship-owners were ruined, and great part of the Navy destroyed, to the serious injury of the King and of the realm, "because the Navy is the great support of the wealth, profit, and prosperity of the realm."[b] They therefore prayed, that for the increase and revival of the Navy, it might be enacted by Parliament that the ancient payments should be continued. The King promised to do what right and reason required.[c] March.

A curious circumstance in natural history, and

[a] Proc. Privy Council, II. 187, 188.

[b] "pur taunt qe la dit navye est la greindre substance du bien, profit, et prosperitée du vostre dit roialme."

[c] Rot. Parl. IV. 79. A similar petition was presented in the next parliament. Ibid. p. 104.

A. D. 1416. March. which has occurred in the present century, led to another complaint on the part of the Commons. In consequence of fish having for some years deserted parts of the coast where they had formerly been taken and salted, as was, the Commons said, well known throughout the country, fishermen had gone to other places, and plenty of fish fit for salting had been caught during the last six or seven years on the coast of Iceland; but lately some foreigners of Norway and Sweden had requested the King to forbid his subjects from going to those parts for fish; and, if their request were granted, it would produce much injury, as well to the King, to the lords spiritual and temporal, to cities and boroughs, and to the whole commonalty of the realm, because it would affect their store of such fish for their households. They therefore requested the King to ordain that fishermen might go wherever they could find these fish, and take them in any manner they pleased. But the request involved so manifest an infringement of the rights of other countries, that the petitioners were told, "Le Roy soy avisera."[a]

Another petition shews the manner in which the appointment of Admirals of the fleets of merchantmen returning with the vintage was made; and proves that the great constitutional privilege of election was as usual in naval, as in other affairs. A ship called the "Christopher," of Hull, laden with two hundred and forty tons of wine, was lying at Bordeaux, and about to return home, when, "by election of all the merchants, masters, and mariners of England

[a] Rot. Parl. IV. 79, 80.

there, the said 'Christopher' was chosen to be one of A. D. 1416.
the Admirals of all the fleet of England,[a] on the March.
voyage to England, for the security and protection of the whole fleet," at the time of which election the chief merchants, masters, and mariners swore before the constable of Bordeaux, according to the ancient custom at all times used, that they would not depart from their Admiral until they arrived in England. On their passage the fleet met some caracks, which attacked the "Christopher," when, instead of supporting their Admiral, all her companions ran away, and that vessel was consequently taken. The owners therefore represented that the capture of their ship was ruinous to them, and disgraceful to the whole Navy of England,[b] and prayed that the owners of the other ships might be made responsible to them for her value. The King commanded that all who were present in that fleet should be summoned before the chancellor, who was to take such measures as he might think fit, with the advice of three or four of the judges; and power was given them, not only to compel these cowardly merchants and masters to make good the losses of the petitioners, but to punish them by imprisonment.[c] Some merchants of Dartmouth and Bristol complained that two of their ships had been

[a] Another petition was presented by the owners of this ship in the next parliament, in which they stated that the merchants had elected the "Christopher" "Admiral of the North," and said that she was captured by the Genoese in rescuing the King's ship called the "Great Hulk of Brittany." The owner of the "Christopher" then added, "that his balinger, worth 200*l*., had been captured by the French, on her way from Harfleur, where she carried stores. For these losses the King consented to release him what he owed for duties on the wine with which the "Christopher" was laden. Rot. Parl. IV. 103, 104.

[b] "à graunt anientisement des ditz suppliantz et velany à tout la Navcye d'Engleterre."

[c] Rot. Parl. IV. 86.

A. D. 1416. captured by the Bretons, contrary to the truce, and were referred to the Council for redress.[a]

The Emperor Sigismund being expected in Eng-
April. land, ships were ordered, on the 7th of April, to be impressed for his passage from Calais; and arrangements were made for receiving him with great honour.[b] He arrived in London on the 7th of May, and remained several months in this country, with the hope of effecting a peace between England and France.[c] In the spring, the French, under the Count of Armagnac, invested Harfleur with a large army; and a formidable fleet, in which were eight large caracks, hired from the Genoese, the naval mercenaries of Europe, under the command of the Bastard of Bourbon and Sir Robinet de Braquemont, Admiral of
May. France,[d] having been collected, part of these vessels proceeded to the mouth of the Seine, and blockaded the port. Another part of the French fleet came into the Channel, where none dared oppose them,[e] and, after doing much injury to the English shipping, they appeared off Southampton, and for several days endeavoured to destroy the King's ships with their engines, or to set them on fire; but being repulsed, they went to the isle of Portland, from which most of the inhabitants had fled, burnt the houses, and then attempted to land on several parts of the coast, though with little success, for they were every where resisted, and received as much harm as they inflicted.[f]

[a] Rot. Parl. IV. 89.

[b] Fœdera, IX. 339, 340.

[c] Elmham, pp. 71, 77; Titus Livius, p. 23.

[d] St. Remy, p. 103. Des Ursins (p. 333) says, that the French obtained large ships from Spain as well as from Genoa; and Harding (p. 377) also speaks of Spanish ships having formed part of the French fleet.

[e] St. Remy, p. 103.

[f] Anonymous Chronicle in the Additional MS. 1776, f. 66. b.

No time was lost in raising an army and equipping a fleet at Southampton for the relief of Harfleur and the defence of the realm. In April ships and seamen were ordered to assemble at Orwell;[a] and, on the 14th of May, a general array of fencible men was directed to be made, and beacons to be erected, because the French and Genoese were on the western coast.[b] A. D. 1416 May.

As the Admiral of England was then governor of Harfleur, John Earl of Huntingdon was, on the 5th of May, constituted the King's lieutenant, to conduct men-at-arms and archers to the eastern and western parts, in the King's present voyage on the sea against the enemy; and John Lord Clifford and Sir Edward Courtenay received similar commissions on the same day, to command their own retinues of forty men-at-arms and one hundred archers each, under the Earl of Huntingdon.[c] Ships were ordered to be impressed for these services;[d] and power was given to the Earl of Huntingdon to guard the sea in the south and west, and to Lord Clifford in the north. For the protection of the Irish Sea, the Council intended to speak particularly to the King about a barge of Chester, which was to be filled with men-at-arms and other fighting-men.[e]

By their instructions, dated on the 12th of May 1416, the Earl of Huntingdon and Sir Edward Courtenay were directed to abstain from injuring the people of Portugal, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Holland,

[a] Rot. Pat. 4 Hen. V. m. 24. d.

[b] Fœdera, IX. 350.

[c] Fœdera, IX. 344, 345. Sir Edward Courtenay's whole retinue consisted of 343 men-at-arms and 700 archers. Issue Roll 4 Hen. V., (ed. Devon,) p. 346.

[d] Rot. Pat. 4 Hen. V. m. 35. d., m. 33. d.

[e] Proc. Privy Council, II. 199.

A. D. 1416. May. and Prussia, or other allies or confederates of the King; and to refrain also from injuring the subjects of the King of Castile and Leon, or of Flanders against the existing truces with those states. They were commanded, as soon as they had mustered their followers, to hasten to Harfleur with provisions and stores for its defence, after landing which they were to proceed to the southward for the guard of the sea, attacking the French, and defending the King's subjects with all their might. During their voyage they were forbidden to touch at any port, unless driven by storms; and in that case they were to return to sea as soon as possible. In case they captured any ships that were probably neutrals, they were to keep them and their cargoes in safety until the King had determined what should be done with them.[a]

The King's brother, the Duke of Bedford, the Earls of Northumberland, March, and Salisbury, Lords Fitz Hugh and Bardolph, Sir William Harington, Sir John Robsart, Sir John Pelham, Sir Bryan Stapleton, Sir Thomas Rokeby, Sir Hartouk Von Clux,[b] and many other barons, bannerets, and knights, were engaged to serve against the French.

Henry had, with his characteristic gallantry, determined to command the expedition in person; and, on June. the 20th of June, Sir Edward Courtenay was directed to detain the ships then at Southampton until the King arrived there;[c] and all persons who had received wages to serve at sea with the King were commanded,

[a] Proc. Privy Council, II. 200.

[b] Fœdera, IX. 355, 356; Additional MSS. 4601, art. 24. Their indentures or agreements to "accompany the king in his voyage, which, God willing, he was about to make on the sea," are dated on the 30th of May. Hardyng (p. 377) says the Earls of Oxford, Warwick, and Huntingdon also accompanied the Duke of Bedford.

[c] Fœdera, IX. 364.

on the 20th of July, to repair to that port without delay.[a] On the 6th of that month, Thomas Lord Morley, the grandson of Edward the Third's Admiral at Sluys and Espagnols sur Mer, was appointed Admiral of the fleet, and leader of the men-at-arms going from London and other ports to Southampton.[b] After sending his royal guest the Emperor to Leeds Castle, the King went to Southampton;[c] and intelligence was brought to him that the French were blockading Portsmouth, to prevent a junction between the ships in that harbour with those at Southampton, and that they had attempted to make a descent on the Isle of Wight.[d] A. D. 1416. July.

It was only in compliance with the urgent request of the Emperor and of his own Council, that Henry abandoned his intention of proceeding to Harfleur with the expedition;[e] and on the 22nd of July he entrusted it to the Duke of Bedford, by constituting him his lieutenant to conduct the men-at-arms and archers at sea against the enemy; but it was still called "the King's voyage;"[f] and on the 26th of that month Sir Walter Hungerford was appointed Admiral of the duke's fleet.[g]

Bedford sailed for Harfleur early in August,[h] but August.

[a] Fœdera, IX. 370.

[b] Rot. Pat. 4 Hen. V. m. 22.

[c] Henry was at Titchfield on the 11th, and at Southampton on the 20th of July. Fœdera, IX. 369, 370.

[d] Anon. Chron., Add. MS. 1776, f. 67. b.

[e] Elmham, p. 78; Titus Livius, p. 24.

[f] Fœdera, IX. 371. St. Remy (p. 103), who, like Monstrelet (chap. XLIII.), calls him the Duke of Clarence, says, that the King charged his brother, on his life, never to return to England until he had fought the enemy and gained the victory, or were captured or slain.

[g] Rot. Pat. 5 Hen. V. m. 19.

[h] On the 1st of August Sir Walter Hungerford certified that he was present when 1000 marks of gold were taken out of a bag at Winchelsea, sealed with the King's signet, to pay the sailors in the Camber, who were about to sail under the Duke of Bedford. Addit. MS. 4601, art. 40.

A. D. 1416. August. part of his vessels[a] were forced by contrary winds and stormy weather into the Camber. The ships at length reunited and anchored off Beachy Head;[b] and the wind having become favourable, the fleet weighed and arrived at the mouth of the Seine, in the evening of Friday the 14th of August.[c] The duke's ship anchored for the night; and he caused lights to be hoisted to indicate his position to the fleet. Information was then brought to the prince, by small row-boats,[d] of the force and situation of the enemy's fleet; and he resolved to attack it on the following day. Orders were accordingly sent to all the captains, that, as soon as he set his sail in the morning, all the ships should do the same, and follow him towards the enemy.

With the dawn on the 15th of August the French fleet appeared in sight. Divine service having been performed on board the English ships in the best manner it could be done, they weighed, made sail towards the enemy, and prepared for battle. The French, no less eager for the conflict, advanced boldly in their "sea-castles" to meet their adversaries. From the distance between the two fleets, calms, or light winds, or from these causes combined, it was not until about nine o'clock[e] that the action began. The large, or, as one of the chroniclers calls them, alluding to their fore and stern castles, the "turretted

[a] The number of the Duke of Bedford's fleet has been grossly exaggerated by the only two writers who mention its extent. Hardyng (p. 377) says that there were 400 sail and 20,000 men. Monstrelet (cap. XXIII.) states that there were 300 ships. But such were the numbers of a fleet with an immense army, and not of a squadron of ships of war sent with a few transports to victual a besieged town, and to fight an action at sea. MS.

[b] "Beauchiefe" or "Bayanchiefe."

[c] Anon. Chron., Add. MS. 1776, f. 67 b.

[d] "naves parvæ ductæ remigio."

[e] "circa horam diei nonam." Elmham, p. 80.

ships," then came violently into contact, and their crews fastened them to each other by cables, chains, and hooks. As on previous occasions, the height of the Genoese caracks afforded them great advantage over the low-built English ships; and it is said that the people on their decks could hardly reach the soldiers in those lofty vessels with their lances. The conflict was very severe: fighting hand to hand, or, to use the words of a contemporary writer, "man to man, lance to lance, arrow to arrow, dart to dart, stone to stone, iron masses to lead," success depended entirely upon courage and physical strength; and in such contests the English have almost always been victorious. After a sanguinary action of five or six hours,[a] some of the French ships were carried by boarding; on seeing which, the other vessels endeavoured to separate themselves from their opponents, and such as succeeded hoisted their sails and took to flight.[b] A. D. 1416 August.

Three great caracks and many smaller vessels, with all their crews, were captured, and a hulk was sunk. The remainder of the French fleet escaped into Hon-

[a] Anon. Chron. in Add. MS. 1776. f. 67. b.

[b] Elmham, pp. 80, 81; Titus Livius, pp. 24, 26. The battle is thus described in the "Libel of English Policie:"—

"Great caracks of Genua taken by the Duke of Bedford, 1416. The French navie thus overthrowen was of five hundred saile;

"And when Harflew had her siege about,
There came caracks horrible great and stoute,
In the narrow see willing to abide,
To stoppe us there with multitude of pride.
My Lord of Bedford came on and had the cure,
Destroyed they were by that discomfiture.
This was after the King Harflew had wonne,
Whan our enemies to siege had begonne;
That all was slaine or take by true relation,
To his worshippe, and of his English nation.
There was present the King's Chamberlaine
At both battailes, which knoweth this in certaine;
He can it tell otherwise than I;
Aske him, and witte; I passe foorth hastily."

A.D. 1416. August. fleur,[a] whither the English were prevented from pursuing them, on account of the sands and other dangers on the coast.[b] The largest of the caracks, which one writer[c] says was called, from her size, and, probably, also from her colour, the "Mountnegrie," and which is said by another writer to have been called the "Mother of all,"[d] in her efforts to escape, struck upon the sands and foundered.[e] A carack which had been driven about some days before the battle, drifted from her anchors, and was likewise wrecked. Fifteen hundred[f] of the French were killed, and about four hundred made prisoners; while the English did not lose more than one hundred men.[g] For some days the corpses of the slain were seen floating on the sea, "as if they were seeking for other burial than that of the fishes."[h]

None of the English chroniclers, except Hardyng, (whose account cannot be relied upon,[i]) gives any idea of the force of the two fleets; and, though cannon had become a common implement of war, it is nowhere said that guns were used in the action. The French

[a] Erroneously called Harfleur in Elmham and Titus Livius and in the Anonymous Chronicler.

[b] Anon. Chron. f. 67. b; Elmham, p. 82; Titus Livius, pp. 24—26. Walsingham (p. 441) says, three caracks, one hulk, and four balingers were taken, and that three caracks fled and one was sunk. Titus Livius (p. 26) states that four of the largest of the Genoese, and not a few of the French vessels, were captured. "The Duke of Bedford, the Earl of March, and other certain lords, with their retinue, fought on the sea against seven caracks of Genoa and fifty other vessels, as hulks, barges, galleys, and galliots; of whom were taken three mighty caracks, with their pennons, and moreover drowned a great hulk called the 'Black Hulk of Flanders,' and the remnant fled away; and this was done on our Lady-day Assumption." Polychronicon, f. cxxx[b].

[c] Elmham, p. 81.

[d] "quæ et mater omnium dicebatur." Anon. Chron. f. 68.

[e] Ibid.; Elmham, p. 82; Titus Livius, pp. 24, 26.

[f] Otterbourne (p. 278) states that 15,000 French and aliens were slain, which is incredible.

[g] Anon. Chron. f. 67 b.

[h] Ibid. f. 68; Elmham, p. 83; Titus Livius, pp. 24, 26.

[i] Vide p. 420, *note* [e].

writers give a few additional particulars of the engagement; and admit that their fleet was completely defeated. Monstrelet briefly observes, that the Duke of Clarence (not Bedford) sailed from Sandwich with three hundred vessels full of English, whom he led to Harfleur and destroyed the French navy under the command of the constable of France.[a] St. Remy says that four caracks ran away; that the other ships were captured; that Sir John de Braquemont, the son of the Admiral of France, was slain, and that the Bastard of Bourbon was made prisoner and brought to England.[b] Des Ursins states that the French had nine large ships in the action, but that they had not half men enough; that part of their crews were Genoese crossbow-men; that the Viscount of Narbonne, the Lords Montenay and Beaumanoir, and the Bastard of Bourbon were in the fleet; that they found the English in fine order and condition; that two of the French ships were taken, and two foundered, and that the remainder proceeded to Brest. The archbishop consoles himself for the discomfiture of his countrymen, by observing, that, if the English had the honour, they lost many men.[c] A. D. 14 August.

No English person of rank[d] is known to have fallen; nor has an especial commendation of the merits of any individual been found, except of Lord Morley, who, as will afterwards be stated, died before he returned to England.

[a] Monstrelet, ch. XXIII.
[b] St. Remy, p. 103.
[c] Des Ursins, p. 334.
[d] In the next reign, Thomas Hostell, a soldier who had lost an eye at the siege of Harfleur, but served at Agincourt, stated, in a petition to Henry the Sixth, that "after, at the taking of the carackes on the sea," he was struck "there with a gad of iron, his plates smitten in sunder, and sore hurt, maimed, and wounded." Ellis' Original Letters, 2nd series, II. 95.

A. D. 1416. August. The action was fought in sight of the garrison of Harfleur, and, when the Duke of Bedford proceeded to land the provisions and stores, the enemy's galleys came between the harbour and the fleet to prevent his doing so; but the duke, with some small rowing-vessels, drove them into Honfleur. Not much reliance is to be placed on facts when history is related in verse; but, as Hardyng was contemporary with the events he describes, and says he served at the siege of Harfleur in the preceding year, his description of this battle is deserving of some attention, though he appears to have exaggerated the number of the English squadron. The most remarkable of his statements are, that the French "came proudly upon our ships unprayed," a testimony to their bravery which agrees with that of the other writers who have been cited, and that after the action, the galleys, taking advantage of calms, frequently attacked the English vessels by day and night, and attempted to burn them with wild-fire.[a]

[a] "They fought full sore afore the water of Sayn,
With carrikes many, well stuffed and arrayed;
And many other shippes great of Hispayne,
Barges, balyngers, and galleys unaffrayed,
Which proudly came upon our ships unprayed:
And by the even their sails avaled were set,
The enemies slain in battle, and sore bet.

"And many dryent were that day in the sea,
That as our fleet rode there then still alway,
Unto the feast next of her Nativity,
The bodies flote among our ships each day;
Full pitcous was and foul to see them aye,
That thousands were — twenty as they then told—
That taken were in that same battle bold.

"In which meanwhile, while as our ships there lay,
It was so calm withouten any wind,
We might not sail, ne fro thence pass away.
Wherefore their galleys each day there gan us find,
With oars many about us did they wind,
With wild fire oft assayled us day and night,
To brenne our ships in that they could or might."

As soon as the stores were sent on shore, the Duke of Bedford re-embarked and returned with his prizes to England, where a most gracious reception awaited him.[a] A. D. 1416 August.

News of the victory was brought to Henry on Friday the 20th of August, while he was on his road to Canterbury from Small Hithe,[b] where some ships were building for him; and joining the Emperor Sigismund at Canterbury, the King acquainted him with the joyful event. "Te Deum" was sung, and other religious services performed for the victory; after which the Emperor proceeded to Dover, and crossed over to Calais,[c] and Henry prepared to follow him. Walsingham, after mentioning the capture of the three caracks by the Duke of Bedford, states that another large carack was sunk off Southampton, in which eight hundred troops perished, who were commonly called "light-harneys."[d]

The French having again collected a large force at sea to prevent the King's passage to Calais, the warden of the Cinque Ports received orders on the 27th of August to fit out such ships, barges, and balingers in those ports as Sir Robert Babthorpe, the comptroller of the household, might consider necessary.[e] Henry

Southey (II. 571) says he had met with no earlier instance of wild-fire in our Naval actions; but ever since the invention of the Greek fire that element had been used for the destruction of ships and for other warlike purposes.

[a] Anon. Chron. f. 68; Elmham, p. 83; Titus Livius, p. 26. Elmham adds, that the King ordered an antiphony, with a verse and collect, to be chaunted in his private chapel on the anniversary of the battle during his life.

[b] "Smalheth" in the original, and called by Goodwin and others Smallhith; but Smallhith is eight miles from the sea. The Chronicler probably meant that the news reached the King at that place after he had been inspecting some ships that were building at Winchelsea or Rye.

[c] Anon. Chron. f. 69.

[d] Walsingham, p. 441.

[e] Fœdera, IX. 384.

A. D. 1416. September. left Sandwich with forty sail on the 4th of September, and landed at Calais at twelve o'clock on the same day, where he was received by the Emperor.[a]

About one o'clock on the 24th of September, a large carack was perceived running before the wind, and with all sail set, between Calais and Dover, going apparently to Sluys. The Earl of Warwick, captain of Calais, Lord Talbot, Thomas Lord West, Sir Gilborn Umfreville, and some soldiers hastily armed six balingers to pursue the carack; but before those vessels could leave the port, she was out of sight. They nevertheless put to sea and chased her.[b] On the same day information was brought to the King that the merchants of Dartmouth had captured a Genoese carack, laden with merchandize, which had been driven into that place by a gale. One of the six balingers that went after the carack returned to Calais on the 26th, having been separated from her consorts during the night; and soon afterwards the King and the Emperor, with their suites, attended a funeral mass for Lord Morley, who had arrived in perfect health from the fight off Harfleur, and was received with every mark of favour by the King for his gallant conduct on that occasion; but being seized with dysentery, died at Calais ten days afterwards, to the great grief of every one.[c]

The next day, Sunday the 27th, another of the balingers returned, and reported, that, at day-break in the morning after she and her consorts left Calais,

[a] Anon. Chron. f. 69; Fœdera, IX. 385.

[b] Anon. Chron. f. 69.

[c] The King and Emperor probably attended the funeral mass in consequence of Lord Morley having been a Knight of the Garter.

the Earl of Warwick[a] and five of the balingers came up with the carack, which was higher by the length of a lance than the highest of the English vessels; but though very unequal in force, they grappled with and attacked her. A fight ensued with varying success, and they then rested by common consent. As soon as they had refreshed themselves, the action was renewed with great vigour, and lasted until night, when the carack was on the point of surrendering. At that time many were killed and wounded on both sides; but the English had expended all their missiles, and not having any boarding-ladders, they were unable to continue the engagement, and had the mortification of seeing the enemy pursue her course towards Sluys. The balingers were obliged by contrary winds to make for Orwell, but were dispersed in the night by a storm. One of them, unable to enter the port, was driven on the sands, but afterwards proceeded to Calais. Another of the balingers arrived on the 29th of September, with news of the safety of the remainder; but her crew had been three days without food, having, in their haste to pursue the carack, omitted to take provisions with them. A. D. 141 Septemb

The Earl of Warwick returned to Calais on the 29th of September, when the report of the death of Lord West was confirmed. The fate of this gallant young nobleman, who served at Agincourt, was singu-

[a] The Cottonian MS. Julius E. IV. contains various "pageants" or drawings illustrative of the life of Richard Earl of Warwick, who was born on the 28th of January 1381. After saying that the Earl was captain of Calais when the Emperor came there, a "pageant" is thus entitled "How Erle Richard in his commynge into Englond wonne two great carrykes in the sea," but it is doubtful if it was this or some other affair that was alluded to. The drawings of the caracks and of the Earl's ship represent vessels of the reign of Henry the Seventh.

A. D. 1416. September. larly unfortunate. Standing at the foot of the mast, and putting on his armour to attack the carack, a stone, which was being drawn up to the top for the purpose of being hurled upon the enemy's deck, slipped from the rope, and striking him on his bare head, inflicted a wound of which he died on the 30th of that month.[a] Sir Baldwin le Strange, a gallant knight, fell in the action, but only a few other persons.[b]

October. A truce was concluded with France from the 9th of October until the 14th of February following;[c] and on Friday the 9th (or 16th) of October the King sailed with a small squadron for Dover. Soon after the ships had quitted Calais, a furious storm with hail and rain came on, and raged so violently, that the sailors were thrown into despair. At night some of the vessels anchored off the English coast, and rode out the gale, while others kept under sail; and in the morning they all got safely into port.[d]

A. D. 1417. February. Extensive preparations were made in February 1417 for an expedition to Normandy, under Henry in person; and an army of sixteen thousand four hundred soldiers, one thousand carpenters and other workmen, and fifteen hundred ships assembled at Southampton.[e] A report was then made to the Council of "the names of the King's ships and vessels," which included twenty-four sail, namely, the "Trinity," the "Holy Ghost," the "Nicholas;" and three caracks, all of which are described as "great ships;" of

[a] Esch. 4 Hen. V. No. 28.
[b] Anon. Chron. f. 70. b.; Elmham pp. 88, 89; Titus Livius, p. 29.
[c] Fœdera, IX. 399, 400.
[d] Anon. Chron. f. 71. b.
[e] Elmham, p. 92; Titus Livius, p. 30; Anon. Chron. f. 72.

nine barges, the "Katherine," the "Gabriel," the A. D. 141
"Thomas," the "Mary," the "Red Cog," the "Little Trinity," and of two others; and of ten balingers, the "George," the "Ann," the "Gabriel of Harfleur," the "Cracchere," the "James," the "Swan," the "Little Johan," the "Nicholas," and of two whose names are not mentioned.[a] A fuller list of the Royal Navy was made in August of this year.[b]

Persons were appointed, on the 15th of February, February.
to arrest shipping for the King's voyage; and such as were impressed in the western ports were to be delivered to Sir Thomas Carew, the Sire de Chastillon, and Sir John Mortimer, who were to take enough of these vessels to carry six hundred and sixteen men-at-arms, and twelve hundred and thirty-two archers,[c] and proceed with them to sea for the defence of the realm, from the 1st of March to the 1st of November, against the French, Bretons, Castilians, Genoese, and the Scots, unless they received orders to the contrary.[d]

Sir Thomas Carew's squadron consisted of one large ship, the name of which is obliterated, carrying seventy-five lances, or men-at-arms, and one hundred and forty-eight archers; the King's great carack, called the "Mary of the Tower," of five hundred tons, with sixty-three lances, and one hundred and thirty-two archers, and eighty-eight sailors; the "other carack of Venice," with forty-one lances and eighty-three archers; the barge "Katherine of Salisbury," with thirty-five lances and sixty-three archers; the "Bukkys barge," with fifteen lances and thirty archers; the "Ellen of Greenwich," of one hundred and forty tons,

[a] Proc. Privy Council, II. 202.
[b] Vide p. 435, *post*.
[c] Ibid. 203, 204.
[d] Ibid. 209.

A. D. 1417. February. with thirty-one lances, and seventy-six archers, and thirty-eight sailors; the ship "Anthony," with thirty lances under Captain Robert Carew, and fifty-three archers; the "Trinity of the Tower," of one hundred and two tons, and thirty-two sailors, with eighteen lances and forty archers; the balinger of Trebost and the balinger of Plymouth, carrying from five or six lances, and eleven or thirteen archers each; and Sir Thomas Carew's own barge the "Trinity," which had four lances and eight archers. His whole retinue consisted of three hundred and twenty-three men-at-arms, and six hundred and fifty-five archers.[a]

March. April. In March the Cinque Ports were warned to perform their service of ships.[b] On the 5th of April all masters and mariners were directed to proceed to Southampton without delay; and on the 17th ships and vessels were ordered to hasten to that port.[c] Deserters from the fleet were commanded to be arrested by the constable of Farnham Castle, and by the bailiffs

June. of Andover and other towns;[d] and in June the mayor of London sent a messenger to Sir William Kynwolmarshe, at Southampton, with a letter desiring him to make arrangements for the safe passage of the ships that were about to sail for that port from the Thames, as the enemy were at sea in great force.[e]

July. Henry arrived at Southampton before the 11th of July, and on the 20th of that month he appointed the Earl of March his lieutenant on the sea, to bring the ships and vessels back to England after they had

[a] Muster Roll containing the names of all the soldiers, Roll "E. B. 1626," at Carlton Ride, and Issue Roll, Easter Term, 4 Hen. V.

[b] Rot. Claus. 5 Hen. V. m. 17.

[c] Ibid. m. 17. d.

[d] Ibid. m. 14.

[e] Issue Roll 4 Hen. V. (ed. Devon) p. 351.

landed the army in Normandy, and then to return to him with reinforcements.[a] The French fleet, which consisted of some large Genoese dromons and "liburni,"[b] and an immense number of other ships of war, again collected at Harfleur, and occasionally scoured the Channel "like pirates," doing great mischief to this country.[c] The principal object of these ships was, however, to intercept Henry's expedition;[d] and he is said to have been desirous of proceeding against the enemy's fleet in person; but he yielded, as he had done in the preceding year, to the remonstrances of his Council, who thought it improper that he should be exposed to so much danger.[e] He therefore determined to send a squadron to sea under the command of the Earl of Huntingdon, and gave him a commission as lieutenant on the sea during the King's absence, with all the usual powers of an Admiral. Probably from haste, Huntingdon's commission was not dated; but it may be presumed to have been issued about the 20th of July;[f] and he appears to have sailed immediately after he received it. A. D. 1417 July.

Huntingdon fell in with the enemy on St. James's day, the 25th of July,[g] and led his squadron into action with great gallantry. Some of the ships came in contact with such violence, that their prows, or, more properly, forecastles, were carried away, and the men in them thrown into the sea. The vessels fastened themselves to each other by chains and cables in the

[a] Fœdera, IX. 466.

[b] The "liburni" appear to have been a species of dromond, and were chiefly used as merchantmen. See Jal's Archéologie Navale, I. 237, II. 470.

[c] Elmham, p. 92.

[d] Henry's letter to his Council. Vide p. 433, *post*.

[e] Elmham, p. 92.

[f] Rot. Pat. 5 Hen. V. m. 22.

[g] Otterbourne, p. 278.

A.D. 1417. July. usual manner, when another hand-to-hand fight took place, which lasted nearly the whole day, and, after a desperate conflict, the French and Genoese were completely defeated. Many of their ships were carried by boarding, and their consorts taking warning by their fate sought their own safety in a precipitate flight, and escaped with much difficulty. The Earl of Huntingdon arrived with his prizes and prisoners at Southampton about the 29th, where the King awaited his return, and honoured him with his warmest thanks.[a]

Otterbourne says that the Bastard of Bourbon was captured on that occasion:[b] but the place where

[a] Anon. Chron. f. 72; Elmham, p. 92; Titus Livius, p. 30; Otterbourne, p. 278.

[b] Otterbourne, p. 278. "The Chronicle of London" (p. 104) thus relates the Naval transactions in 1416 and 1417:—"Anno III. (1416): And the same year the Duke of Bedford, the King's brother, was made captain of the sea for a quarter of a year; and the same time he and his retinue took three caracks and drowned the fourth, and a great hulk was drowned also; and anon after in the same year was taken a great carack at Dartmouth." "Also in the same year, that is for to say, in the beginning of the fourth year of the reign of Harry the Fifth, the Duke of Bedford and the Earl of March, with other certain lords and their retinue, foughten with seven caracks of Genoa, and with about 50 other vessels, some hulks, some barges, some galleys, and some galiots; of whom, blessed be God, he took three caracks with their patrons, and drowned a great hulk that was called the 'Black Hulk of Flanders;' and the remenant fled their way: and this was done upon our Lady-day the Assumption, the fourth year above said."

"Anno IIII. (1417): And the same year, upon Saint Peter day and Paul, the Earl of Huntingdon, with other certain lords and their retinue, fought with nine caracks of Genoa, the greatest that ever were seen in these coasts, and 'scomfited them, of which, thanked be God, he took four great, with their patrons; and the admiral of them all, was called the 'Bastard of Bourbon,' with all the treasure that they all should have been waged with for a quarter of a year; and the other caracks fledden away. Also the same year, the 30th day of July, the King with all his host sailed into France, and landed in Normandy upon Lammas day, a little beside the castle of Touque."

This writer, consequently, makes the Duke of Bedford to have fought two actions with caracks, and assigns the Earl of Huntingdon's battle to the 29th of June, the day before the King sailed for Normandy. Fabyan says the Earl of Huntingdon fought the caracks on Saint Ronan's day, the 9th of August, after Henry's arrival at Touque, "as hath the French Chronicle." It is not quite clear whether Stow (p. 353) speaks of more than one action; but if he does, he attributes both to Huntingdon, who, he says, returned before the King sailed, and accompanied him to Touque.

the battle was fought has not been ascertained; and there is great confusion respecting it in many of the writers of the period. It is not even mentioned by Walsingham or Hardyng, or in the "Polychronicon," nor by Monstrelet or St. Remy; and Des Ursins notices it only to express his doubt whether it ever occurred.[a] There is, however, contemporary evidence respecting it, which proves that four caracks were captured. A. D. 1417. July.

The King wrote, apparently to his Council, on the 8th of August, stating that he had arrived safely in France, and that, having been informed shortly before he sailed that a large force of the enemy's vessels, equipped for war, was at sea, he sent certain of his people against them, who had taken four caracks and put the others to flight.[b] The Earl of Huntingdon's victory is also alluded to in a letter from Sir John Cheyney to Sir John Pelham. After thanking Pelham for his kindness, the writer says, "Liketh it you, to wit, that the King and all the lords being here fain wel, yblessed be God: and as touching to the good speed of my Lord of Huntingdon now last at sea, the bearer hereof shall declare it by mouth more plainly than I can write it at this time."[c] A difficulty arises, however, from the date assigned to that letter, namely, "At Hampton, the 12th day of July;"[d] and which can only be removed by supposing that it has been erroneously print-

[a] Under the year 1417 Des Ursins (p. 337) merely observes: "Some say it was at this time that the battle on the sea between the English and French took place, in which was the Bastard of Bourbon, of which mention has been made" (in p. 334, vide p. 423, *ante*), "and when even the English admitted the marvellous defence of the French."

[b] Addit. MS. 4601, f. 95. It is not stated where this letter was found, and the transcript has no other date than "Don, &c. le xj jour d'Augst."

[c] Collins' Peerage (ed. 1779), vol. VIII. p. 107.

[d] A mistake in the date is the more probable, from its being printed in Arabic numerals, which are not likely to have been used in the original.

A. D. 1417. July. ed, for all the circumstances prove that the action did not occur before the 25th of July. Sir John Cheyney's letter confirms the assertion of Elmham and other writers, that the Earl of Huntingdon returned with his prizes to Southampton shortly before the King sailed for Normandy.

Henry is said to have embarked on the 23rd of July,[a] and he sailed about the 29th, with an immense fleet. The names and descriptions of two hundred and thirty of the vessels, most of them, probably, transports, are preserved; and it appears that Holland furnished one hundred and seventeen sail, namely, ninety-four cog-ships, and seven other ships, eleven crayers, two balingers, two busses, and one helibot. From the ports of England one hundred and twenty-one vessels were obtained, among which were fifty-four crayers, ten ships, twenty-one fare-coasts, and one passager, ten balingers, five doggers, five picards, two barges, one pinnace, one skiff, one collett belonging to Cromer, and one vessel of which the description is not given.[b] The sail of the King's ship glittered with the arms of England and France and other ornaments, dazzling the eyes of the beholders; while the sail of the vessel called the "King's Hall"[c] was adorned with paintings

[a] Elmham, p. 96. On the 23rd the Great Seal was delivered to the new chancellor; but Henry was certainly at Porchester on the 25th of July, when the Duke of Bedford was made custos of England. As the King arrived at Touque on the 1st of August, and is said by most writers to have had a short passage, he could not have sailed before the 29th or 30th of July. Walsingham (p. 444), however, says Henry's voyage lasted ten days, which would agree with his having sailed on the 23rd, but which was certainly not the case. The Chronicle of London (p. 106) states that Henry sailed on the 30th of July.

[b] Rotuli Normanniæ, 5 Hen. IV. (ed. Hardy, 8vo. 1835) pp. 320—329. This list gives the name of the master, the name and description of the ship, and the name of the port to which she belonged.

[c] Vide pp. 104, 109, 194, *ante*.

of stars and feathers, probably the royal badge of ostrich feathers. These two vessels, "the mistresses and leaders of the whole fleet,"[a] weighed and set their sails, and were soon followed by all the other ships. It is said that their destination was known only to the King himself, who had concealed his plans even from his friends, lest they might be divulged to the enemy. Henry directed his course to the Seine, and on the 1st of August disembarked at Touque, a small port four miles from Honfleur. As soon as the troops were landed, he is stated to have sent all the ships and transports to their several harbours, except those that carried engines, artillery, and stores, which were too heavy to be conveyed by land;[b] but the certificate, authorizing the masters of the two hundred and thirty vessels just noticed to return, was dated on the 1st of September.[c] A. D. 1417. July. August.

On the 12th of August 1417, a few days after Henry landed at Touque, he granted an annuity to the master of each of his ships, caracks, barges, and balingers. Twenty-seven vessels are mentioned, of which the "Jehu," the "Trinity Royal," and the "Holy Ghost" were "great ships;" and eight were caracks, each of whose masters was to receive 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* a year. There were nine ships whose masters were to have 5*l.* per annum; and one barge and nine balingers, whose masters were to receive 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* a year.[d] It appears from this list that a balinger was assigned to each of the two large ships, the "Holy Ghost" and the "Trinity," probably as a tender.

[a] "totius classis dominæ et ductrices."

[b] Elmham, p. 96; An. Chr. f. 72[b].

[c] Rot. Norman., ed. Hardy, p. 320.

[d] Vide the APPENDIX, No. x.

A. D. 1417. August. Payment of 474*l.* 10*s.* was made in August to Lord Scrope, of Bolton, for the masters and mariners of four barges and four balingers in the King's fleet; and of 794*l.* 13*s.* 1*d.* for the wages of the masters of three of the King's caracks, twelve other masters, three constables, three carpenters, eight hundred and ninety-six mariners, and sixty-five boys belonging to those caracks, to two large ships, to four barges, and to six balingers, in the fleet under the command of Sir John Arundel, deputy to the Duke of Exeter, the High Admiral, for the protection of the southern parts of the sea for half a year.[a]

A. D. 1418. March. The danger to which the ships at Portsmouth were exposed caused measures to be taken for the fortification of that place. In March 1418 money was paid for building a tower at Portsmouth for the protection of the King's ships and defence of the town and vicinity;[b] and among the objects which were to be provided for out of the revenue of 3507*l.* 13*s.* 11¾*d.*, in May 1421, were the costs of "building the new tower at Portsmouth" and "the office of clerk of the King's ships."[c]

A. D. 1419. March. May. The Spaniards having fitted out a large naval armament against this country, with the design of burning or destroying the ships at Portsmouth and Southampton, the people of Hampshire and Wiltshire were ordered to be arrayed on the 5th of March, and again in July and August 1419, for the defence of the coast.[d] On the 19th of May the Earl of Suffolk was appointed

[a] Issue Roll, Easter Term, 6 Hen. V. (ed. Devon) p. 355.

[b] Issue Roll, 5 Hen. V. (ed. Devon) p. 354.

[c] Proc. Privy Council, II. 315.

[d] Fœdera, IX. 702, 703, 793; Rot. Pat. 7 Hen. V. m. 21. d.

Admiral of Normandy.[a] During the summer, while A. D. 1419
Henry was in Normandy, the French prepared an expedition to assist the Scots, intending to proceed to Scotland by the western coast of England. To defeat this object, twelve ships and balingers were ordered, on the 12th of August 1419, to be impressed in the August.
ports of Cornwall and Devon: but it being found that these vessels were not enough for the purpose, every ship and balinger in those counties, as well as in the ports of Somerset, Dorset, and Hampshire, were arrested and placed under the command of William Lord Botreaux, or whoever else might then be at sea on that service.[b]

Towards the end of June some caracks and vessels with merchandize, belonging to the Genoese and other enemies, were captured by two merchants of Bristol and William Camoys, of Bayonne, and brought into Plymouth; and, on the 9th of July, the King wrote to them, expressing his satisfaction at the circumstance, for which he praised God, and desiring them to treat with the bearers of his letter for the sale of part of the cargoes of the prizes for his own use.[c]

Some information respecting the duties of the Admiral of England is afforded by a letter from the Duke of Exeter, who then held that office, to the Council, dated at Vernon, in Normandy, on the 21st of April in this year. Having been told that legal process had been issued against some merchants of Bristol who had captured a Breton vessel on the coast of Ireland, and brought her into Bristol, and that the owners had come to an agreement on the subject, but the duke says, as "it was found by diverse inquisitions

[a] Fœdera, IX. 753. [b] Ib. 791, 792. [c] Proc. Privy Council, II. 267.

A. D. 1419. taken by mine officers of Admiralty that the said vessel had forfeit against the truce taken betwixt the King my Sovereign lord and the Duke of Brittany, and by that cause forfeit unto me and so kept under arrest, wherefore the said men of Bristoll have been grievously vexed by the said writs unto their non knowledge the cause why, but if it be for deliverance of the forsaid vessel as they say; and as unto that will ye wit that now late, for divers causes that moved me, and in special at the instance of the Duke of Brittany, I wrote unto John Hunt, my deputy, charging him to put the forsaid vessel unto plain deliverance, not letting for no cause nor right that I had therein nor in the goods that were therein taken, having reward always to the right of party, which if there any were I charged him to do his devoir, to make good and accord thereupon so that the said vessel might be clearly delivered." The duke, therefore, heartily prayed the Council, that, if the merchants of Bristol were not sued for any other cause than for the deliverance of that vessel, they might no longer be molested.[a]

A. D. 1420. February. In February 1420 shipping were arrested for the passage of the Duke of Bedford to the King in Normandy, and to convey the Earl of Ormond, lieutenant

June. of Ireland, to that country.[b] On the 20th of June an array of all fencible men was ordered to be made, to prevent the Spaniards from invading the realm.[c] In

December. December the Commons stated in Parliament that some English ships had been captured by the Scots,

[a] This letter is subscribed, "The Duc of Excetre, Erle of Dorset and of Harecourt, Admiral of England, Guienne, and Irland, and Capitain of Rouen." Proc. Privy Council, II. 249.

[b] Rot. Pat. 7 Hen. V. m. 4. d. m. 6. d. [c] Ib. 8 Hen. V. m. 17. d.

that one of those ships was made their Admiral in Scotland, that they had brought many of the King's enemies to Normandy to serve against him, had conveyed wools to the Low Countries contrary to the existing treaty with the Count of Flanders, and had committed various injuries daily on the poor fishermen. They therefore prayed the King to protect the sea in those northern parts, which would, they said, compel the Scots to end their war in the marches. "The King would," the Commons were told, "with the grace of God, provide for the safety of the sea there and elsewhere."[a] A. D. 1420.

Henry married the Princess Katherine of France at Troyes, on the 30th of May 1420; and the King and Queen arrived at Dover on the 1st of February 1421, when the people ran into the sea to carry their Majesties to the shore upon their shoulders.[b] On the 2nd of March Sir William Bardolf was appointed Admiral of the fleet about to proceed to sea, and his commission contained a clause that it should not prejudice the rights of the Duke of Exeter as Admiral of England.[c] Bardolf's fleet assembled at Dover;[d] and soon after, the Spaniards having menaced the Isle of Wight with a descent, measures were taken to resist them.[e] Henry, finding that his presence was required in France, and being anxious to avenge the death of his brother the Duke of Clarence, who was slain at Beaugy on the 22nd of March, ordered the Cinque Ports, on the 26th of April, to furnish their ships for his voyage;[f] but he did not leave England until June, A. D. 1421. February. March.

[a] Rot. Parl. iv. 127.
[b] Elmham, p. 296; Anon. Chron. f. 79; Walsingham, p. 453.
[c] Fœdera, x. 68.
[d] Ib. p. 69.
[e] Proc. Privy Council, i. 362.
[f] Fœdera, x. 109.

A. D. 1421. and embarking at Dover at daybreak on the 10th of that month, he arrived at Calais at two o'clock on the
May. same day.[a] In May hostilities with Genoa were terminated by a treaty, by which it was agreed that the Genoese should not furnish the French, nor any other enemy of England, with ships or crossbow-men; and that if the ships of Genoa or England in any port were compelled to serve against either country, such compulsory service should not be considered a violation of the peace.[b] On the 20th of July ships were
July. directed to be impressed in Normandy to convey the body of the Duke of Clarence to England, with his widow the duchess and her suite.[c] In July the Council were informed that some pirates belonging to Holland had arrived at Fowey; and a commission was issued to Lord Botreaux, Sir John Arundel, and to the sheriff of Cornwall, commanding them to arrest those ships and their crews, and to send them to the Council to be examined.[d]

A. D. 1422. February. On the 27th of February 1422 the Cinque Ports were ordered to send their ships to Southampton by
April. the 1st of April, to carry the Queen and her retinue to France;[e] and Katherine landed at Harfleur on the
May. 21st of May.[f] The reign of Henry the Fifth terminated on the 31st of August, by the death of that heroic Prince in the castle of Vincennes.[g]
August.

[a] Anon. Chron. f. 80; Monstrelet, cap. CCXLII.; Walsingham, p. 454.

[b] Goodwin's Life of Henry the Fifth, pp. 305, 306.

[c] Fœdera, x. 146.

[d] Proc. Privy Council, II. 295.

[e] "inter secundam et tertiam horam post mediam noctis." Fœdera, x. 175.

[f] Walsingham, p. 456.

[g] Fœdera, x. 253.

CHAPTER VII.

CLASSES OF VESSELS.—STORES AND EQUIPMENTS.—GUNS.—THE COMPASS.—ORNAMENTS OF SHIPS.—SAILS MARKED WITH ARMS AND BADGES.—VOTIVE OFFERINGS.—OFFICERS AND CREWS.—CHANGE IN THE OFFICE OF ADMIRAL.—WAGES.—CHAUCER'S DESCRIPTION OF A SEAMAN.—MEMOIRS OF ADMIRALS:—EARL OF ARUNDEL—EARL OF WORCESTER—LORD BERKELEY—EARL OF KENT—SIR WALTER HUNGERFORD.—ENGLISH FREEBOOTERS.

THE civil affairs of the Navy, from the accession of King Richard the Second in 1377 to the death of Henry the Fifth in 1422, nearly half a century, were not marked by any great changes, except that Henry caused larger ships to be built than had ever before formed part of the Royal fleet. Additional light is, however, thrown upon nautical affairs in that period, by some interesting, if not important details.

Classes of vessels.

No other vessels are mentioned than occur in the time of Edward the Third, except "fare-coasts," a "helibot," a "skiff," and a "collett,"[a] all of which were, no doubt, small craft, the fare-coasts being probably coasters; and the "helibot" another name for a "hocboat."[b]

Caracks and Dromons.

Caracks and dromons are often spoken of, both of which seem to have been Genoese or Venetian vessels, and came into the English Navy first as mercenaries, and afterwards as prizes. It is said, in the "Libel of English Policy," that Henry the Fifth built "great dromons" at Southampton;[c] but the writer must only

[a] Vide p. 430, *ante*. [b] Vide p. 163, *ante*. [c] Vide p. 402, *ante*.

have meant very large ships, for "dromons" are nowhere stated to have been part of the Royal Navy.

Caracks. The caracks were about five hundred tons burthen, had two masts, and were very high out of the water; and in a letter informing the King that he might, if he pleased, have ten or twelve galleys from Barcelona, he was told that two new caracks were building, one of thirteen hundred "botts," and the other of one thousand "botts."[a] The usual dimensions of a large ship in the year 1419 are shewn by the description of one which was building for the King at Bayonne. This vessel was one hundred and eight feet long, "from the onemost end of the stern into the post behind." The mast beam was forty-six feet, while the beam of the "hameron"[b] before the mast was thirty-nine, and the beam of the "hameron" abaft it was thirty-three feet. The stern was ninety-six feet, while the [stern?] post was only forty-eight feet. The keel was one hundred and twelve feet long. Thirty-six streaks were boarded, and eleven beams had been laid on them; and it is said that the work was so much neglected, that the vessel could not be ready at the time promised, nor probably for four or five years.[c] Other ships were usually of from one to two hundred tons, or "tontights."[d]

Technical terms. All the technical terms which have been inserted[e] again occur in the Naval accounts between 1377 and 1422, with some others. The only instances which

[a] Ellis's Letters illustrative of Eng. Hist. 2nd series, vol. I. p. 71.

[b] *Sic* in the transcript, and so printed; but the original letter was destroyed in the fire which injured the Cottonian library.

[c] Ellis's Letters illustrative of English History, 2nd series, vol. I. p. 69.

[d] Vide p. 167, *ante*, and the APPENDIX, No. II.

have been found of ships having two masts is in the statement of the Monk of St. Denys, that some of the French vessels in the expedition against England in 1386 had two sails;[a] and in the list of the stores of the King's carack about 1410, among which were "one large mast" and "one small mast;" but she seems to have had only "one sail-yard of two pieces," and "one tref with two bonnets,"[b] which are the only notices of a yard or sail belonging to her. In every other instance vessels had only one mast, one yard, and one sail.[c] "Polives," or pullies, began to be called "blocks;" the word "rigging" is first used; the mast[d] is said to have been "leered and forlocked;" and the terms "capstan spokes," "tacks,"[e] and "ropes for knotting the mast,"[f] and "old cable called joynk"[g] or junk, occur. Ships were also then, as before, furnished with lanthorns, and "mustard quernes" or mills.[h] Stores and equipment.

Among the new statements are the construction of offices or cabins for the buttery, the pantry, the spicery, the ewery, and the chandlery, "under the hatches" of the ship sent to Brittany to bring the Queen of Henry the Fourth to England; and of a "cabin" in the "Holy Ghost of the Tower," for the Countess of Salisbury, when she attended the Princess Blanch to Dordrecht in 1401.[i] Ships were "cal-

[a] Vide p. 307, *ante*.

[b] Roll 11 & 12 Hen. IV., marked "W. N. 1444."

[c] Naval Accounts at Carlton Ride, *passim*.

[d] The mast for the King's ship built at Redcliff cost 14*l*. 12*s*. 4*d*. Issue Roll, East. Term, 5 Hen. V.

[e] Roll "I. E. G. 9579."

[f] Roll "E. B. 1261."

[g] Roll of Foreign Accounts, temp. Henry V., at Carlton Ride.

[h] Roll "W. N. 1444," and *passim* in other lists of stores.

[i] Roll "C. A. 356."

Stores and equipment.

facted," that is, caulked with tow and tallow; and a "calfact" is said to have been made for a ship.[a] A ship had cisterns and a "pompe" for drawing water.[b] A balinger is stated to have had a "poupe;" and the "forecastle for the minstrels"[c] belonging to the balinger for the King's household was kept in the King's storehouse.[d]

Guns, both of brass and iron, gunpowder, and stone and iron shot, are repeatedly mentioned in the reigns of Richard the Second, Henry the Fourth,[e] and Henry the Fifth; as are "hand guns," "eight guns with eight chambers," large and small guns, "slot of iron" for the guns, and tompions, which, for the reason before given, seem to have been wads.[f]

The Compass.

The "dial" and "sailing-needle" are occasionally noticed; but the entries occur so seldom, compared with other articles of sea-stores, as to justify the suggestion that every vessel might not have been supplied with them, and possibly, only the Admiral or leading ship of a squadron or fleet. The "Mary of Weymouth," and a few other ships, had "one dyoll and one seyling-needle;"[g] and the "Nicholas" had "j dioll;"[h] but there is reason to suppose that the needle was sometimes called the compass, and that ships had two or more needles; for the "Christopher" had "iij compas and j dyoll;"[i] and the "Katherine of the Tower" had "j compasse, j dioll." The balinger

[a] Roll "J. E. G. 9579."
[b] Foreign Accounts, temp. Hen. V.
[c] Vide pp. 105, 170, *ante*.
[d] Roll 11 & 12 Hen. IV. "W. N. 1444."
[e] Issue Roll, temp. Ric. II. (ed. Devon) pp. 226, 227, 229; temp. Hen. IV. p. 277.
[f] Rolls "W. N. 1444," "I. E. G. 9579," "E. B. 1261."
[g] Rolls "E. B. 1261," "W. N. 1444."
[h] Foreign Accounts, temp. Henry V.
[i] Roll "W. N. 1444."

"Gabriel of the Tower" seems, however, to have had an instrument closely resembling the modern compass, namely, "j dioll, j compasse," and "j boxe."[a]

Ornament of ships.

An idea of the splendid manner in which ships were sometimes decorated has been afforded by several extracts from the chroniclers of this period; and the Naval accounts contain corroborative entries. In the year 1400 one of the King's barges and her mast were painted red, and the vessel was adorned with collars and garters of gold, each collar containing a fleur-de-lis, and each garter a leopard; together with gold "lyames,"[b] having within each of them a white greyhound and a gold collar. The ship called the "Good Pace of the Tower" was likewise painted red, but her bulwarks, cabin,[c] and stern were of other colours; and a large gold eagle, with a crown in its mouth, was placed on the bowsprit. The "Trinity of the Tower" was also red: four effigies, namely, of St. George, St. Anthony, St. Katherine, and St. Margaret, stood in the stern, together with four shields of the King's arms within a collar of gold, and two with the arms of St. George within the Garter. Two large eagles were painted in the cabin on a diapered ground. The King's barge the "Nicholas of the Tower" represented the badge of the Prince of Wales, and must have had a singular, and perhaps beautiful appearance, as she was painted black, and covered, or to use the original word, "powdered" with white ostrich feathers, the stems and escrols being of gold. In one part of the cabin[d] were large escutcheons with the King's arms,

[a] Foreign Accounts, temp. Henry V.

[b] "A string to lead a hound in." Nare's Glossary; Archæologia, vol. xxviii. p. 97.

[c] "celeur."

[d] "celeura."

Ornaments of ships.

and of the arms of St. George; and in another part was an image of St. Christopher.[a] The "Holy Ghost," which was built for Henry the Fifth at Southampton, was adorned with images of his supporters, a swan and an antelope, but it does not appear where they were placed; and one of his great ships at that port, possibly the same, was painted with swans, antelopes, several coats of arms, and with his motto,

Une sanz pluis,

in divers parts.[b] King Henry the Fifth's own ship, the "Cog John," was distinguished by having a crown and sceptre, and his crest, the lion of England crowned, on the top of the mast; and her capstan was ornamented like three fleurs-de-lis.[c]

Sails marked with arms and badges.

It has been before remarked, that, on seals and in many illuminations, the sails of ships are represented to have been ornamented with the arms of the King, or other eminent person, or with various devices; and it will have been noticed that Elmham describes the sail of Henry the Fifth's ship as having been richly emblazoned with the King's arms, while the sail of the ship called the "King's Hall" was painted with his badge of the ostrich feather and stars.[d] Evidence has now been found that sails were undoubtedly ornamented in that manner. A badge of the King's arms embroidered with worsted was made for his ship the "Cog John." The sail of the ship "Nicholas" had the royal badge

[a] Roll "W. N. 1441."

[b] Issue Roll, 2 Hen. V. (ed. Devon) pp. 338, 339.

[c] Among the stores of this ship were, one crown of copper gilt for the top, one wooden leopard, a crown of copper gilt for the said leopard, a sceptre of copper gilt for the top, a capstan "ad modum trium florium deliciarum operatum," five lanthorns and one great lanthorn, and an anchor, which had been given by Sir John Blount. Roll of Foreign Accounts, temp. Henry V.

[d] Vide p. 434, *ante*.

of a swan, while the sail of the "Katherine of the Tower" had an antelope climbing up a beacon,[a] another of Henry the Fifth's badges.[b]

Banners, streamers, gitons, and standards.

The ships of Henry the Fifth, like those of his royal grandfather, had a variety of flags. His own ship the "Cog John" bore, besides the royal banner, two streamers, one of the Trinity, and another of our Lady; and eight gitons, of which one was of the Trinity, one of our Lady, one of St. Edward, one of St. George; two contained the King's arms, one the badge of the swan, and one the badge of the ostrich feathers. She had, moreover, eight standards with similar charges, and "one banner of council,"[c] which would appear to have been a signal flag. The "Nicholas" had one streamer of the saint whose name she bore, and four gitons, namely, one of St. Edward, one of St. George, one of the King's arms, and one of the ostrich feathers; and the "Katherine of the Tower" had four gitons and four standards, with the same charges, and a streamer of St. Katherine.[d]

Votive offerings.

An opinion has been expressed[e] that small silver images of ships were sometimes used as votive offerings for preservation from danger, and the following circumstance proves its correctness. In July 1397 the master of the "Trinity of the Tower" was paid for his expenses in carrying to Arques a small ship made of silver, which, on his first voyage to Burgundy for wine for the King's use, he had vowed, during a storm, to offer to the image of the Virgin at Arques, for the preservation of the ship.[f]

[a] "ascendente super j bekene."
[b] Roll of Foreign Accounts, temp. Henry V.
[c] Vide pp. 196, 409, *ante*.
[d] Roll of Foreign Accounts, temp. Henry V.
[e] Vide vol. i. p. 232.
[f] Issue Roll, ed. Devon, p. 267.

Benediction of ships.

A newly-built vessel belonging to Catholic countries receives her name from a priest, and with the ceremonies of religion. The custom of blessing ships is alluded to by the Monk of St. Denys;[a] and in July 1418, the Bishop of Bangor was sent to Southampton to give a benediction to the King's ship lately built there, called the "Grace Dieu," and received 5*l.* for his expenses upon the occasion.[b]

Officers and Crews.

No alteration was made in the officers and crews of ships, which still consisted of a master, constable, and carpenter, sailors and boys, and there was also an officer called the "clerk of the King's ships," who kept the accounts of stores supplied and of the money expended. Some change took place, however, respecting the appointments of Admirals and commanders of fleets at sea. No less than forty-one persons were appointed Admirals between 1377 and 1422, six of whom commanded both the northern and western fleets, namely, the Earl of Arundel, from December 1386 to May 1389; Sir John Roches, (but for a few weeks only,) in May 1389; Edward Earl of Rutland, from 1391 to 1398; John Marquis of Dorset, from May 1398 to 1399; the Earl of Worcester, from 1399 to 1401, and Thomas of Lancaster in 1405. After 1406 there was always an Admiral of England who commanded in chief all the fleets of England, Ireland, and Aquitaine, the office having been held successively by the Earls of Somerset and Kent, and Sir Thomas Beaufort, who was afterwards created Earl of Dorset and Duke of Exeter.

Office of Admiral.

After the statutes of the 13th and 15th of Richard

[a] Vide p. 334, *ante*.

[b] Issue Roll, 5 Hen. V. (ed Devon,) p. 356.

the Second were passed, restraining the jurisdiction of Admirals, all their commissions contained a clause prohibiting them from doing anything contrary to those statutes. Though the command of all the fleets had occasionally been vested in one person, who thereby became Admiral of England, that office does not appear to have been ever granted for the life of the party until 1398. As the Admiral of England was often employed on other duties, it was necessary to appoint Admirals, or Commanders of squadrons or fleets for particular services, and their commissions contained a proviso that they should not be prejudicial to the rights of the Admiral of England. Those persons were designated "Captains and Leaders of men-at-arms and archers on the sea," or "the King's lieutenant on the sea." On some occasions "the King's lieutenant on the sea" did not command the ships or sailors, for which purpose an Admiral was appointed; but in February 1415, when Sir Thomas Carew and Sir Gilbert Talbot were made "captains and leaders" of soldiers in an expedition sent to sea against the enemy's ships, in consequence of the absence of the Earl of Dorset, the Admiral of England, they received all the powers of an Admiral.[a] Office of Admiral

In May 1416, when the Admiral of England was governor of Harfleur, the Earl of Huntingdon, Sir Edward Courtenay, and John Lord Clifford, were sent with a fleet to relieve that town, and fight the enemy's ships. All these persons were styled the "King's lieutenants and leaders of the men-at-arms and archers in the King's present voyage on the sea;" and it would

[a] Fœdera, IX. 202, *ante*, and APPENDIX, No. XII.

Office of Admiral.

appear that they exercised all the powers of Admirals, because no person was then made Admiral, and because all owners, masters, and mariners of ships, and every one, was commanded to assist and obey them both at sea and on land;[a] but, unlike the commissions to Carew and Talbot in the year before, and unlike some subsequent commissions to the King's lieutenants at sea, the authority of Admiral was not expressly given to them by their commissions. On the 6th of July Lord Morley was made Admiral for a particular service. The King having abandoned his intention of commanding a fleet that was about to sail against the French ships which were blockading Harfleur, he appointed the Duke of Bedford his "Lieutenant and Leader of men-at-arms and archers on the sea." His commission, which was dated on the 22nd of July, was in nearly the same words as the commissions that had been issued in May to the Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Clifford, and Sir Edward Courtenay, and contained the same clause respecting the owners, masters, and crews of ships; but the duke was certainly not Admiral of that fleet, because Lord Hungerford was appointed Admiral of the ships in Bedford's expedition on the 26th of July. There are no means of ascertaining the effect which Bedford's commission had upon Huntingdon, Clifford, and Courtenay's commissions; but it probably superseded them, for Huntingdon is said to have been in the armament commanded by the duke off Harfleur in August of that year.

When the enemy's fleet suddenly appeared in the Channel, in July 1417, the Earl of Huntingdon, under the designation of the "King's lieutenant," was made

[a] Fœdera, IX. 344, 345, and APPENDIX, No. XII.

commander of a squadron to resist them; and all the powers of an Admiral were delegated to him, saving the rights of the Duke of Exeter as Admiral of England. This also occurred in the case of the Earl of March, who received a commission on the 20th of July as lieutenant on the sea to bring back the fleet which was about to convey the King and his army to Normandy, and to conduct the ships again to the King with reinforcements.[a] Office of Admiral.

The rate of wages from 1377 to 1422 was the same as in the time of Edward the Third. In addition to wages, most persons employed by the Crown received an additional sum called a "reward," which, in the case of seamen, was sixpence a week. The precise nature of these "rewards" is unknown; but they seem to have been "gratuities" depending on the King's bounty, and were probably regulated by the nature and length of the services performed. Wages.

No contemporary account of seamen in the fourteenth century conveys so satisfactory an idea of their appearance and character as Chaucer's beautiful description of the Shipman, who was one of the pilgrims to Canterbury:— Seamen.

"A shipman was ther woned fer by west;
For ought I wote he was of Dertemouth:
He rode upon a rouncie as he couthe,
All in a goune of falding to the knee.
A dagger hanging by a las hadde hee
About his nekke under his arm adoun;
The hote sommer hadde made his hewe al broun:
And certainly he was a good felaw;
Ful many a draught of win he hadde draw

[a] Fœdera, IX. 467, and APPENDIX, No. XII.

From Burdeux ward while that the chapmen slepe;
Of nice conscience toke he no kepe.
If that he faught and hadde the higher hand,
By water he sent hem home to every land.
But of his craft, to reken wel his tides,
His stremes, and his strandes, him besides,
His herberwe,[a] his mone, and his lodemanage,
Ther was non swiche from Hull unto Cartage.
Hardy he was, and wise, I undertake;
With many a tempest hadde his berd be shake:
He knew wel alle the havens as they were
Fro Gotland to the Cape de Finistere,
And every creke in Bretagne and in Spaine:
His barge ycleped was the Magdelaine."[b]

Memoirs of Admirals.

The great number of Admirals between 1377 and 1422 renders it impossible to give biographical notices of more of them, than those who, by having captured the enemy's vessels in action, or from some other circumstance, are particularly deserving of a place among the Naval heroes of England. The persons entitled to this distinction were the Duke of Bedford, the Earls of Arundel, Worcester, Kent, and Huntingdon, Lord Berkeley, and Sir Walter Hungerford; but the memoirs of the Duke of Bedford and the Earl of Huntingdon belong to the reign of Henry the Sixth, when they became Admirals of England.

Richard, tenth Earl of Arundel.

RICHARD, tenth EARL OF ARUNDEL, was the eldest son of the ninth Earl, who was so conspicuous in naval affairs in the reign of Edward the Third.[c] He was born about 1348, and succeeded his father in 1376. At

[a] Probably "harbourage," knowledge of harbours.

[b] Prologue to Canterbury Tales, lines 390 to 412. Some extracts from Chaucer's notices of ships have been given in p. 181; and others will be found in the Merchant's Second Tale, l. 841 *et seq.*, but they only shew that the terms "crane line," "sea board," "afore," and "baft" were then in use. In "The Pardonese and Tapstere" Chaucer mentions guns:—

"For shot of arblast and of bowe,
and eke for shot of gonne."

l. 241.

[c] Vide p. 239, *ante*.

the age of twenty-one[a] he bore arms in the Pays de Caux, under the Duke of Lancaster, and performed the office of butler at the coronation of Richard the Second.[b] On the 5th of December 1377 the Earl was appointed Admiral of the western fleet, and in 1386 was made Admiral of England.[c] During the three years he held that office he distinguished himself by his zeal and ability. In March 1387 he fought a gallant and successful action with a Flemish squadron,[d] which affair, as well as his other proceedings against the enemy, have been fully described.[e] About 1386 the Earl received the Order of the Garter, and in 1388 was one of the great Lords to whom the government of the realm was confided. Arundel was made the King's lieutenant at sea, and reappointed Admiral in May 1388, when he commanded an expedition to assist the Duke of Brittany; and having ravaged the coast of Normandy, returned to England, and was superseded in the following year.[f] Early in 1394 he was involved in a quarrel with the Duke of Lancaster, who charged him with having aided the rebels that had risen against his authority in Cheshire; but his explanation of his conduct was satisfactory,[g] and Arundel retaliated by bringing charges against the Duke in Parliament, the frivolous nature of which reflect no credit upon the accuser. Pretending that these matters lay so near his heart, that he could not, with any regard to his conscience, conceal them, he

Richard, tenth Earl of Arundel.

[a] Scrope and Grosvenor Roll, I. 220.
[b] Rot. Parl. III. 130.
[c] Vide pp. 267, 271, *ante*.
[d] Ibid. pp. 317—321.
[e] Ibid. pp. 322, 323, *ante*.
[f] Vide pp. 327, 329, *ante*.
[g] Walsingham (p. 387), who says the Duke of Lancaster brought this charge against Arundel in Parliament, but it is not mentioned in the Parliamentary Rolls.

Richard, tenth Earl of Arundel.

said that it was, in his opinion, contrary to the King's honour, that Lancaster should so often walk hand in hand with the King;[a] that the King and his retinue had worn the livery of the collar of the Duke; that Lancaster had often used such rude and bitter words in Council and Parliament, that he (Arundel) and others dared not speak their minds; that it was injurious to the King to have granted the Duke the Duchy of Guienne, and a large sum of money for the expedition to Spain; also "touching the treaty of peace." Richard himself replied to these charges, by stating that he had walked in a similar manner with his other uncles; that soon after Lancaster's arrival in England from Spain, he took the collar from his uncle's neck and placed it round his own, saying he would wear it as a sign of the great and heartfelt love between them, as he had done the liveries of his other uncles, and had also permitted his retinue to wear it. Having given as satisfactory an answer to all the other points, the Peers signified their opinion that the Duke of Lancaster was undeserving of reproach. Arundel was then asked if he had anything more to say against the duke; and replying that he had not, the King, with the advice of the Lords, commanded him to make an apology to Lancaster in the following terms:—"Sire, sith that hit semeth to the Kyng and to the other lordes, and eke that yhe ben so michell greved and displesid be my wordes, hit forthynketh me, and byseche yow of your gode lordship to remyt me your mautalent."[b]

Lancaster found means for revenging himself. The

[a] Or, "arm in arm;" "alast sovent en mayne et brace du Roy."

[b] Rot. Par. III. 313, 314.

Earl of Arundel was implicated in the high treason alleged to have been committed by the Duke of Gloucester in September 1397, and being tried before Lancaster as steward of England, pleaded in vain a general act of indemnity, and a special grant of pardon to himself.[a] He was adjudged to be drawn, hanged, and beheaded, but the King, in consideration of his "high blood,"[b] meaning probably his royal descent through his mother, remitted the degrading part of the sentence, and he was beheaded on the 21st of September 1397.[c] Arundel married, first, Elizabeth, daughter of William Earl of Northampton, and, secondly, Philippa, daughter of Edmund Earl of March; and by his first wife had several children, besides Thomas, his eldest son, who was restored to his father's honours, and became the eleventh Earl of Arundel.[d] Richard, tenth Earl of Arundel.

SIR THOMAS PERCY, EARL OF WORCESTER.—None of the Admirals of the reign of Richard the Second so frequently signalized himself as Sir Thomas Percy, the second son of Henry Lord Percy, by Mary, daughter of Henry Earl of Lancaster, brother of the first Earl of Northumberland, and uncle of Hotspur. This eminent person was born about 1341, and, from his first essay in arms under the Black Prince in Aquitaine in 1369, until his death, shared in the honours of nearly every military event. About 1376 his merits obtained the Garter from Edward the Third, with a pension of one hundred marks, as well as another annuity of the same amount from the Prince of Earl of Worcester.

[a] Rot. Parl. III. 350—352.
[b] "digne sanc."
[c] Rot. Parl. III. 374—377.
[d] Dugdale's Baronage, I. 318; Beltz's Memorials of the Order of the Garter, p. 306.

Earl of Worcester.

Wales. Soon after the accession of Richard the Second, Sir Thomas Percy commanded a ship under the Earl of Arundel, and captured twenty-two sail.[a] In November 1378 he was appointed Admiral of the northern fleet, and proceeded to sea in the ensuing year, towards the end of which he was nearly shipwrecked.[b] In 1381 he was captain of Brest; and he was again made Admiral of the northern fleet in 1385, but his proceedings were severely censured.[c] Though he was superseded in February 1386, he is said to have been Admiral of the fleet which conveyed the Duke of Lancaster to Spain in July in that year,[d] and he was certainly with the duke at Plymouth on the 16th of the preceding month, when he gave his testimony in the celebrated cause between Lord Scrope and Sir Robert Grosvenor.

In 1389 he became vice-chamberlain and justice of South Wales, and was one of the ambassadors who negotiated the peace with France, at which time he was steward of the household. Charles permitted him to dine at his own table, styling and treating him as his "cousin on the side of Northumberland," alluding, probably, to his descent through his mother from King Louis the Eighth. Percy was one of the King's councillors, and his autograph occurs to documents that were referred for the consideration of the Council by the King's command.[e] At the trial, or rather condemnation, of the Earl of Arundel by Parliament on the 21st of September 1397, Sir Thomas Percy was

[a] Vide pp. 266, 267, *ante*.

[b] Ibid. pp. 275—283.

[c] Ibid. pp. 296, 297.

[d] Vide p. 303, *ante*.

[e] Cotton. MS. Nero, B. vii. f. 2; Vespasian, F. xiii. f. 10[b]; Proc. Privy Council, i. 24, 89.

deputed by the prelates and clergy to signify their assent to the earl's conviction and forfeiture of all his possessions.[a] On the 29th of that month he was created Earl of Worcester, and in January 1399 was made Admiral of Ireland. Additional honours were conferred upon him by Henry the Fourth, who appointed him Admiral of England and Ireland, lieutenant of North and South Wales, and governor of young prince Henry. In November 1399 he was one of the ambassadors sent to France to treat for a peace and alliance with that country: he attended the young widow, Queen Isabel, when she was restored to her father,[b] and was sent to Brittany to escort Queen Joan to England in December 1402.[c] Earl of Worcester.

These marks of confidence and favour failed, however, to attach Worcester to the new dynasty; and joining his nephew "Hotspur," he was taken prisoner at the "sorry battle of Shrewsbury, between Englishmen and Englishmen," in July 1403, and beheaded immediately afterwards. He died without issue. From the little that is known of the Earl of Worcester besides the offices he filled, he appears to have excelled in all chivalrous actions, and to have possessed many of the qualities of a statesman. Froissart, who knew him personally, praises his gracious and agreeable manners.[d]

THOMAS LORD BERKELEY was the fourth baron who had received writs of summons to Parliament, but his ancestors had been barons by tenure since the Thomas Lord Berkeley.

[a] Rot. Parl. III. 377.

[b] Proc. Privy Council, I. 136, 145.

[c] Ibid. p. 188.

[d] From Memoirs of the Earl of Worcester, by the Rev. John Webb, Archæologia, vol. XX. p. 13; Dugdale's Baronage, I. 285; Collins' Peerage, (ed. 1779,) II. 321—327; Scrope and Grosvenor Roll, II. 167; Beltz's Memorials of the Order of the Garter, p. 221.

Thomas Lord Berkeley.

Norman Conquest. He succeeded his father Maurice Lord Berkeley in 1368, and was then fifteen years old. In 1374 he was in the wars of France, and served in most of the expeditions in the reign of Richard the Second. His Parliamentary career was only remarkable for his having represented the barons and bannerets in the deputation which was sent by Parliament to Richard to notify his deposition.[a] After the accession of Henry the Fourth, Lord Berkeley was employed against the Welsh, when the sheriffs of six counties were placed under his command. He was appointed Admiral of the western fleet on the 5th of November 1403, and was sworn one of the King's Council in Parliament. His retinue at sea consisted of three hundred men-at-arms, in which were eleven knights, two hundred and eighty-five esquires, and six hundred archers, in seven ships and seven barges, doubly manned. He was sent with part of these vessels from Plymouth to Bordeaux, and was afterwards ordered to proceed to the coast of South Wales.[b] At Milford he captured or burnt fourteen sail, and soon after took fourteen more.[c] When Henry the Fifth was preparing for his expedition to France, in April 1415, and made the Duke of Bedford lieutenant of England during his absence, Lord Berkeley was appointed a member of the Duke's Council.[d] Berkeley united to military fame the much rarer merit of being a lover of learning and the patron of learned men, especially of the erudite Trevisa, Vicar of Berkeley, who translated the Old and New Testament and Higdin's "Polychronicon" into English. He married

[a] Rot. Parl. III. 424.
[b] Proc. Privy Council, II. 84.
[c] Vide pp. 356, 37. *ante.*
[d] Proc. Privy Council, II. 157.

Margaret, daughter and heiress of Gerard Lord L'Isle, by whom he had an only child, Margaret, who married Richard Earl of Warwick. Lord Berkeley died on the 13th of July 1415.[a] Thomas Lord Berkeley.

As EDMUND EARL OF KENT was the only Admiral who fell in the command of a fleet, his brief career ought to be described. He was the brother and heir of Thomas, third Earl of Kent and Duke of Surrey, who was attainted and beheaded in 1400, for attempting to replace Richard the Second on the throne, and he succeeded to the Earldom of Kent, though his brother's attainder was not reversed. Through his grandmother Joan, daughter and eventually heiress of Edmund Earl of Kent, younger son of Edward the First, the Earls of Kent were related to the Sovereign and were entrusted with the highest offices. He became of age about 1404; but his life was too short to admit of his performing many important actions. In June 1405 he distinguished himself in command of a ship in Thomas of Lancaster's fleet, by coming to the Prince's rescue at a critical moment;[b] and was elected a Knight of the Garter. In 1406 he married Lucy, daughter of the Duke of Milan: he was one of the commissioners to treat for peace with Brittany in 1407, and was made Admiral of England on the 8th of May in that year. His premature fate, on the 15th of September 1408, has been already described.[c] The Earl of Kent died without issue, and his honours became extinct.[d] In 1414 the Duke's widow joined his heirs in a petition to the Peers in Edmund Earl of Kent.

[a] Dugdale's Baronage, I. 360, 361; Collin's Peerage, (ed. 1779,) vol. II. pp. 14, 15.

[b] Vide p. 373, *ante*.

[c] Vide p. 396, *ante*.

[d] Dugdale's Baronage, II. 77.

Edmund Earl of Kent.

Parliament stating that Barnaby Duke of Milan, her father, had promised her a marriage portion of 70,000 florins, no part of which had been paid, to the great peril of the soul of the Earl, he having died largely in debt, and there being no assets except that money to pay them. The petitioners, therefore, requested letters of marque and reprisal against the city of Milan and others subjects of the Duke, and against their ships, vessels, and all their other property whatsoever, until the said 70,000 florins were paid. The King, however, only promised to do what might seem reasonable to recover the money.[a]

Sir Walter Hungerford, K.G.

SIR WALTER HUNGERFORD will be noticed, because he was Admiral of the squadron which, under the Duke of Bedford as the King's lieutenant, defeated the French fleet off Harfleur on the 15th of August 1416. He was the son of Sir Thomas Hungerford of Farley and Heytesbury, in Wiltshire, by Joan, daughter and heiress of Sir Edmund Hussey. Being one of the adherents of Henry the Fourth, Sir Walter Hungerford received various marks of that monarch's favour; and he stood equally high in the estimation of Henry the Fifth. In October 1414 Sir Walter Hungerford was one of the ambassadors sent to treat with the Emperor Sigismund,[b] and on his Majesty's arrival in this country was appointed to conduct him and regulate his household.[c] He accompanied the King to Harfleur with a retinue of twenty men-at-arms and sixty archers, and was present at Agincourt. It was Hungerford's remark to the King, before the battle, that it was to be regretted they had not with them ten thousand of these English

[a] Rot. Parl. IV. 29.
[b] Fœdera, IX. 168.
[c] Proc. Privy Council, II. 194.

archers, who, if they knew their situation, would desire to be present, that produced Henry's spirited rebuke,[a] which Shakespeare has so beautifully paraphrased. Sir Walter Hungerford.

In July 1416 he was, as has just been observed, made Admiral of the ships in the Duke of Bedford's expedition; he was afterwards constantly with the King in the wars in France; and in 1418 was steward of the King's household. In that year he obtained a grant of the barony of Homet, in Normandy, by the singular tenure of rendering yearly one lance with a fox's tail suspended to it. About 1418 Sir Walter Hungerford was elected a Knight of the Garter; and he possessed so much of his Sovereign's confidence, that Henry made him one of his executors. To Henry the Sixth Hungerford was also steward of the household, and in 1426 was treasurer of England. He was summoned to Parliament as a baron in January 1426; and being captain of Cherbourg Castle, he requested and obtained the Council's permission to repair there for its defence in January 1427, because the French and Bretons were about to attack it.[b]

It is an interesting circumstance in Hungerford's life, that he revised and approved[c] of "the Libel of English Policie," in which the duty of the English government to maintain the superiority of the Sea was so emphatically and so justly urged, declaring that the Gospel only was more true than the statements it contained. The poem ends with the following lines:—

[a] History of the Battle of Agincourt, pp. 105, 241.

[b] Proc. Privy Council, III. 230.

[c] As Hungerford is there called a baron, and as the poem was written during the life of the Emperor Sigismund, it must have been composed between January 1426, when Hungerford was summoned to Parliament, and 1347, when the Emperor died.

Sir Walter Hungerford.

" Goe furth Libelle, and meekely shew thy face,
Appearing ever with humble countenance;
And pray my lords to take in grace,
In opposaile and cherishing the advance
To hardines, if that not variance
Thou hast fro trought by full experience
Authors and reasons: if ought faile in substance,
Remit to hem that yafe thee this science;
That seth it is soth in verray fayth,
That the wise Lord Baron of Hungerford
Hath thee overseene, and verely he saith
That thou art true, and thus hee doeth record,
Next the Gospel: God wotte it was his worde,
When hee thee redde all over in a night.
Goe forth trew booke, and Christ defend thy right!"

Lord Hungerford died on the 9th of August 1449, leaving by his first wife Katherine, daughter and coheiress of Sir Thomas Peverell, his eldest son Robert, second Lord Hungerford, and other children.[a]

Eminent Seamen.

Ample materials exist for affording as much information as may perhaps be desired of the Admirals who distinguished themselves against the enemy; but unfortunately little is known of the lives of those gallant and skilful seamen, whose lives were marked by scenes of hardihood and adventure, and who, owing nothing to birth or station, acquired fame only by their own deeds. Of these daring freebooters, Pay, Prendergast,[b] Wilford,[c] and the devoted Rust[d] were particularly conspicuous. Henry Pay, who assisted at the capture of twenty-nine French vessels in 1405, and some of whose acts are described by a Spanish writer, is said to have lived at Pool;[e] but it is, however, more likely that he was a native of Sussex, where a family

[a] Dugdale's Baronage, II. 204—206.

[b] Vide p. 397, *ante*. In 1403 or 1404 a Thomas Prendergast was made searcher of all ships and boats between London and Gravesend. Rot. Pat. 5 Hen. IV. m. 21.

[c] Vide p. 354, *ante*.

[d] Vide pp. 281, 282, *ante*.

[e] Vide p. 379, 380, *ante*.

of that name resided;[a] but their pedigree is not traced back to this distinguished corsair. Pay is sometimes called a knight, and his indomitable courage rendered him well deserving of the honours of chivalry. Only one fact has been discovered respecting him besides what has been stated.[b] By the description of "mariner" he was paid 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* on the 19th of July 1414, for going as quickly as possible to Calais to ascertain the state and condition of the soldiers there, and to report the same to the Earl of Arundel.[c]

[a] William Pay, having slain a man, fled out of Sussex before the 19th Edw. IV., and settled in Shropshire.—Heralds' Visitations.

[b] Vide pp. 349, 371, 372, 377, 378, 382, *ante.*

[c] Issue Roll, Easter Term, 2 Hen. V.

APPENDIX.

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APPENDIX.

I.

REFERRED TO IN PAGE 37.

MINOT, in his account of King Edward's expedition to Flanders in 1338, says that the French—

"And in all wise thai tham bithoght
To stroy Ingland, and bring to noght.
Schip-men sone war efter sent,
To here the kinges cumandment;
And the galaies-men also,
That wist both of wele and wo.
He cumand than that men suld fare
Till Ingland, and for nothing spare,
Bot brin and sla both man and wife,
And childe, that none suld pas with life.
The galay-men held up thaire handes,
And thanked God of thir tithandes.
At Hamton, als I understand,
Come the galayes unto land,
And ful fast thai slogh and brend,
Bot noght so mekill als sum men wend;
For or thai wened war thai mett
With men that sone thaire laykes lett.
Sum was knokked on the hevyd,
That the body thare bilevid;
Sum lay stareand on the sternes;
And sum lay knoked out thaire hernes:
Than with tham was none other gle,

Bot ful fain war thai that might fle.
The galay-men, the suth to say,
Most nedes turn another way;
Thai soght the stremis fer and wide,
In Flandres and in Seland syde.
Than saw thai whare Cristofer stode,
At Armouth, opon the flude;
Than wen thai theder all bidene,
The galayes-men, with hertes kene,
Eight and forty galays and mo,
And with tham als war tarettes two,
And other many of galiotes,
With grete noumber of smale botes;
Al thai hoved on the flode,
To stele Sir Edward mens gode.
Ewdard oure king than was noght there,
Bot sone, when it come to his ere,
He sembled all his men full still,
And said to tham what was his will.
Ilk man made him redy then,
So went the king and all his men
Unto thaire schippes ful hastily,
Als men that war in dede doghty.
Thai fand the galay-men, grete wane,
A hundereth ever ogaynes ane;
The Inglis-men put tham to were,
Ful badly, with bow and spere;
Thai slogh thare of the galaies-men,
Ever sexty ogaynes ten;
That sum ligges zit in that mire,
All hevidles withowten hire.
The Inglis-men war armed wele,
Both in yren and in stele;
Thai faght ful fast, both day and night,
Als lang als tham lasted might;
Bot galay-men war so many,
That Inglis-men wex all wery:
Help thai soght, bot thar come nane,
Than unto God thai made thaire mane.
Bot, sen the time that God was born,

Ne a hundreth zere biforn,
War never men better in fight
Than Ingliss-men, while thai had myght;
Bot, sone all maistri gan thai mis.
God bring thaire saules untill his blis!
And God assoyl tham of thaire sin,
For the gude will that thai war in! Amen.
Listens now, and leves me,
Who so lifes thai sall se
That it mun be ful dere boght,
That thir galay-men have wroght.
Thai hoved still opon the flode,
And reved pover men thaire gude;
Thai robbed, and did mekill schame,
And ay bare Inglis-men the blame.
Now Jhesu save all Ingland,
And blis it with his haly hand! Amen.

II.

EXTRACTS FROM VARIOUS RECORDS, ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE SIZE AND EQUIPMENT OF SHIPS IN THE REIGN OF KING EDWARD THE THIRD.

EXPENCES OF BUILDING THE GALLEY "LA PHILIPE," IN THE 10TH EDWARD III., 1336.[a]

Particulars of the account of Thomas de Melcheburn and William de Melcheburn his brother, of divers receipts, mises, and expenses by them made concerning the building of a certain Galley of the Lord the King called "La Philipe," built at Lynn in the tenth year of the reign of King Edward the Third.

First, They render account of 666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

For timber bought at different times, in which, among a great

[a] Roll marked "W. N." 579.

many entries of "timber bought in gross," occur the terms "timber called scheltbemes," "halsingges," &c.

The sum of this is 41*l.* 18*s.* 7*d.*

2. The second account is for the purchase of wooden nails or trenails ("clav̄ lign̄"), some of which are termed "skornails," "scheltbemnayles," &c. Sum, 35*s.* 2*d.*

3. The third account is for boards. Sum, 51*l.* 4*s.* 8*d.*

4. The fourth account is for the house and place where the said galley was built. Sum, 7*l.* 14*s.* 1*d.*

5. The fifth account is for iron. Sum, 38*l.* 2*s.* 5*d.*

6. The sixth account is for pitch and tar, at 5*s.* and 6*s.* per barrel. Sum, 10*l.* 4*s.* 9*d.*

7. The seventh account is for the purchase "mossi" and "pilorum." Sum, 30*s.*

8. The eighth account is for the wages of the carpenters, divided into fifteen weeks.

[First Week.]—The same persons compute for the wages of John Kech, master of the carpenters of the same Galley, on the Monday next after the Epiphany of our Lord, namely, on the 11th day of January, in the tenth year of the reign of King Edward the Third, and six days following, 3*s.* 6*d.*, taking by the day 6*d.* Item, for the wages of six carpenters by the said time 17*s.* 6*d.*, to each by the day 5*d.* Item, for the wages of six men called "clynckerers" by the same time 14*s.*, to each by the day 4*d.* Item, for the wages of six men called "holderers" 10*s.* 6*d.*, to each by the day 3*d.* Item, to four "servientes" to the same workmen by the said time 5*s.* 10*d.*, to each by the day 2½*d.*

Sum of the whole wages of all the carpenters and workmen for the fifteen weeks . . . . . 76*l.* 9*s.* 4*d.*

The next account is for the rigging, ("atilium;") viz. for one mast bought for the same Galley, 10*l.*; and for one "seilyerde" 60*s.*; and for one "lof" and one "bowesprete" 43*s.* 4*d.*; and for 120 stone of hempen cordage, the stone containing 14 lbs., bought at Lynn and Rungetone, for fourteen couples of "hevedropes" to be made thereof, price of each stone with the making, 12*d.*; and for 20 stone of hempen cordage, 14 lbs. to the stone, to make two "baksteyes," per stone

12*d.*; and for 30 stone for three "steyes," 30*s.*; and for 40 stone for two "upteyes," 40*s.*; and for 60 stone for two "rennendeteyes," 60*s.*; and for 2 stone for a "craneline," 2*s.*; and for 240 stone to make six cables therewith, at 12*d.* per stone; and for 100 stone to make four "hauceres," 100*s.*; and for 25 stone to make a "wyndyngrop," 25*s.*; and for skin ("pelle") bought of divers persons to make two "swengeropes" therewith, 2*s.*; and for 15 stone of hempen cordage to make "peyntours" and "seysynges," 15*s.*; and for 15 stone of the same to make "hevedweles" therewith, 15*s.*; and for 20 stone to make two "trusseropes" with, 20*s.*; and for 30 stone to make one "botrope," 30*s.*; and for 10 stone for a "towerope," 10*s.*; and for 60 stone to make three "viryngropes," 60*s.*; and for 40 stone to make four "boyeropes," 40*s.*; and for 30 stone to make two "schetes," 30*s.*; and for 15 stone to make two "stodes," 15*s.*; and for 8 stone to make two "yerderopes," 8*s.*; and for 8 stone for one "boweline," 8*s.*; and for 12 stone to make two "girdengeropes," 12*s.*; and for 1 stone of the same cord to make one "saundynglyne," 12*d.*; and for divers "cords of russhewale," with "schivis and trussis," to make a "rakke" therewith, bought of divers persons, 10*s.*; and for 4 stone bought for making two "trusseropes," 4*s.* 905 stone of cordage, 14 lbs. to the stone, price per stone 12*d.*; and in skin and "russewale" "shives" and "polives." 45*l.* 17*s.*

And for 1100½ lbs. of iron of Spain to make a great anchor price per hundred with the manufacture, 11*s.*—6*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.*; and for 901 quarters of Spanish iron to make another anchor, price of each hundred with the making, 11*s.*—101*s.* 9*d.*; and for 500 of Spanish iron for another anchor, at 11*s.* per hundred, 55*s.*; and for 500 more for another, 55*s.*; and for 400 of the same for a small anchor, 44*s.*; and for 800 of the same Spanish iron for an anchor, at 11*s.* the hundred, 4*l.* 8*s.* Sum of the iron, 4203 quarters—23*l.* 10*s.* 3*d.*

The same persons render account of four cloths "de Belvero," containing 640 ells, bought for making a sail, namely, of the breadth of 26 cloths and of the length of 25 ells, price per ell 3*d.*—8*l.*; and for colouring ("tincturatione") 320 ells of the same 640 ells "de Belvero" of a red colour, viz. for each ell 2*d.*, 53*s.* 4*d.*; and for 220 ells "de Belvero," bought to make "wynewes" for the same sail, with fastening the same ("cum eisdem ligandis"), price per ell 3*d.*; and in colouring the said 220 ells black, for each ell 2*d.*

Sum, 860 ells—15*l.* 5*s.*

And for 10 stone of hempen cordage to make a "licherope," 10*s.*; and 15 stone for a "boltrope," 15*s.*; and 8 stone for eight "rifropes," 8*s.*; and 3 stone for "robondes," 3*s.*; and in 1 stone of hempen cord for a "midelwynd," 12*d.* Sum, 37 stone of hempen cordage—37*s.*

And for 500 "swyftes," bought in gross at Lynn, price of the hundred, 3*s.*

And for 60 ells of canvas, bought to double ("dupplicand'") the said sail, price per ell 3½*d.*; and for thread bought for the same, 8*s.*; and for "packenedeles," bought for the said sail, with sewing the same, 2*d.*; and for wages of 24 women sewing the same sail by 14 days, each per day 2*d.*; and for wages of the master mariner being upon the making of the same sail by the same time, taking by the day 6*d.*; and for wages of the constable of the same ship by the same time, taking by the day 6*d.*; and for a place hired to make the said sail therein by the said time, namely, by the week 12*d.*; and for portage of the said sail from the place where it was made to the said ship, 10*d.*

And for 24 spars ("spres") bought to make 24 "skaltres" with, price of each 3*d.*; and for fourscore oars for the same, price of each with the making thereof 18*d.*; item, in two "rothres," price of each 2*s.* —4*s.*

And for 576 ells of cloth "de Belvero" bought for "panell'" to cover the same ship, at 3*d.* an ell; and for colouring 288 of the aforesaid 576 ells of cloth "de Belvero" red, at 2*d.* an ell; and for thread bought to sew the same "panell'" and for sewing the same, 2*s.*

And for six poleyvs to hoist the said sail, price 12*d.* each; and for four poleyvs for trusses, at 4*d.*; and for four poleyvs for trusses, at 2*d.*; and for two poleyvs for "bowelines and hokeropes," price 6*d.*; and for 24 "spokes," at 2*d.* each.

For leopards bought of Nicholas de Massyngham by a certain agreement, with the painting of the same, placed upon "les stampnes," 21*s.*[a]

And for one "cynkaban," price 18*d.*; and for two "wyndigbalies" and two "wyndas," bought "to put water out of the said ship" ("ad aquam extra navem ponend'"), 3*s.* 4*d.*; and for 2 stone of hempen

[a] Cancelled in the Original.

cordage for "wyndyngropes" for the aforesaid "wyndas," price 12*d.* per stone with the making, 2*s.*; and for two "spojours," bought to put the water in the said "wyndingebalies," price of each 4*d.*; and for two hatchets bought for the same, 6*d.* each; and for two "marcell'" at 3*d.* each; and for one "slegge," 4*d.*; and for two "navgers," at 4*d.* each; and for 24 "tynels," bought to purify the said ship, price of each, 1*d.*; and for 20 clay pots ("ollis luteiis"), bought to boil pitch and tar in, price of each ½*d.*

The same persons account for 4 stone of lead bought at Lynn, for making twelve gutters in the said galley, price of each stone with the manufacture 6*d.*; and for old canvas bought in gross, to put upon the hatches of the same galley, 5*s.*; and for pitch, tar, and "lyme," to put the same in and "tylatand'," 2*s.*; and for "rosto," bought to dry the same galley, 13*s.* 4*d.*; and for 14 flagons ("lagienis") of oil to grease the said galley, price of each flagon 10*d.*; and for 100 lbs. of rosin, at 1½*d.* per lb.; and for wages of John Redhod, anointing the same galley with pitch, tar, oil, and rosin mixed, and for the mixture as by agreement, 15*s.*; and for 200 lbs. of Spanish iron to make two chains for the rudder ("gubernale") of the galley, price of the hundred 11*s.*

Expense of the Barge.—Item, for one timber to make a "botmetr'," 4*s.*; and for two timbers, bought to make two "stampñ," each 2*s.*; and for 100 "weldisbord'," bought for the same, 100*s.*; and for 100 of "righolt'," 40*s.*; and for 3000 "clync'" and "ros," bought of John de Aylsam, smith, price of the hundred 12*d.*; and for fifteen timbers bought in gross to make "wrongs," 15*s.*; and for fourscore timbers bought in gross to make "fotekes," 20*s.*; and for one timber bought for one "stampneloker," 14*d.*; and for two timbers bought to make two "halsis," price of each 6*d.*; and for twelve boards "de thornd'" to make "hacches," price of each board 4*d.*; and for four spars ("spris"), bought for the same hacches, each 3*d.*; and for 200 iron nails for the said hacches, price per hundred, 3*d.*; and for one "hassloker" and one "sterstel" bought, 6*d.*; and for one "wyndas" and one "daviot" bought, 9*d.*; and for one other "wyndas" bought, with four "spekes" pertaining to the same, 12*d.*; and for six timbers bought for the same, to make "wales" and "bindes" therewith, price of each 12*d.*; and for 14 timbers bought to make "thofftes," price of each 6*d.*; and for one timber bought to make a 'kelsweyn,

10*d.*; and for 28 "spurch'" bought, price of each 3*d.*; and for 56 iron bolts, namely, for each "spurch'" two bolts, bought for the same, price of each with the making 1*d.*; and for one timber bought to make a "rother," 2*s.*; and for timber bought for a "hurdys," 2*s.*

Purchase of Pitch and Bitumen.—Item, they account for two barrels of pitch bought, price per barrel 3*s.* 4*d.*; and for one barrel of bitumen bought, price, 4*s.*; and for wages of John Rodhod, for the making of the same and anointing the said barge, 2*s.*, by a certain agreement made with him; and for "mosso" bought for the same, 18*d.*; and for three flagons of oil bought, price per flagon 10*d.*; and for 20 lbs. of rosin bought, price per lb. 1½*d.*

Then follows the Carpenters' account for three weeks, at 20*s.* per week; the master carpenter taking 6*d.* per diem, and the workmen 5*d.*, 4*d.*, and 3*d.*

The Rigging ("*Atilium*") *of the Barge.*—The same persons account for one mast bought for the same, 10*s.*; and for one "seilyerde," 2*s.*: and for 16 stone of hempen cordage, the stone containing 14 lbs., bought at Lynn, to make four couples of "hevedropes" therewith, price of each stone with the making 12*d.*; and for 2 stone for "backsteyes," 2*s.*; and for 2 stone for one "steye," 2*s.*; and for 3 stone for one "upteye," 3*s.*; and for two "poleyvs," 6*d.*; and for 1 stone for a "hevderope," 12*d.*; and for 5 stone for a "haucer," 5*s.*; and for 3 stone for another "haucer," 3*s.*; and for an anchor, 10*s.*; and for another anchor bought for the same, 7*s.*; and for fourscore ells of canvas to make a sail for the said barge, at 3*d.* per ell; and for 6 stone to make a "boltrope," a "twistrope," and a "lychrope," 6*s.*; and for 2 stone to make "swifftes" and "robandes," 2*s.*; and for 2 stone to make two sheets, 2*s.*; and for two "scutfaites" and two "scopes," 14*d.*; and for one axe and one "marcello," 9*d.*; and for 30 oars, at 12*d.* each; and for two "garfangles," 8*d.*

Indenture between John Starlyng, formerly Clerk of the Ships, Galleys, Barges, Balingers, and other the King's Vessels, and Helmyng Leget, Keeper of the same, 22nd June, 12 Edw. III., 1338.[a]

The said John delivered to the same Helmyng an old Ship called the "Trinity de la Tour," whereof John Mayhew is master, with a "top-chastrell," a "rakke," a good and sufficient anchor, a great old cauldron for the kitchen, a "trief" half used without bonnets, "un petit batell foible appelle la cokke, II. peires susters, IIII. boltes de ferr p^r^ trussyng, une mustardquerne."

The said John delivered to the same Helmyng, on the same day, the Galley called "Jesu Maria" "dont Antony est comiter," . . . with "IIII. triefs ove lez boltropes," with three anchors called . . . . and three other anchors called "ship-anchors," "un graunt caudron de bras pour piech, un grand trifet pour mesme le caudron, 240 remes plumbes."

The said John delivered to the said Helmyng a Ship called the "Bernard de la Toure," "sanz rother, helme, t cokke, ove un batell d'i fait gisant al hostiell de John Reynold, dont Richard Elysen est meistre," with "apparaill," "un trief ove un bonet, un sailyard, un bowesprit, un topchastrell, un grapeiren ove un cheyne, un myke hoke de ferr, une mustardquerne, un scope, XVI. veill' pavyes."

In the Ship called the "Bernard de la Tour," "ij canons de ferr sanz estuff."

The same delivered to the same, the Barge called "La Marie de la Tour," whereof John Brambehill is master, with the "apparaill," "une mast, un trief ove IIII. bonetz, un topchastrell, un seilyerde, un bowespret, un rakke, un truspaill, un canon de ferr ove II. chambres, un autre de bras ove une chambre, un ketill, un spogeour, II. seilyngnedeles, un dyall, un sherhok, un mykehok."

"La nief appelle la carake dont Petre de Lenant est meistre, un bowespret, ove II. polyves, un rakke ove II. sustres, un trusp'aill ove II. sustres, II. slenges, un trusse, un canon."

"La hulk appellee 'X'pofre de la Toure,' dont John Kyngeston est meistre, ove lapparaill, un bon corps ove un bonet bon et II. bonetz febles, V. ankres dont un de eux est unstokked, un junk, III. canons de ferr ove V. chambres, un handgone, un petit batell appelle le cokke, un grand tawe, un davyot pur le forechasteil, un . . . de ferr p^r^ les

[a] Roll "T. 6. 11,097."

canons, III. stonebagges febles, un mokehoke de ferr, un pot de bras p^r^ la cuisine."

Parcels in the store-house on the same day.—"XXII. barells de picch, XXIII. barrell de tarre, £III. doleys de firr de pruce, cc. waynscots," cc. long and c. short oars of ash.

20 long beach oars for the galley, and XXII. short oars of ash.

"II. novelx lollers, v. regaldes."

Un grant ankre apelle le tyntawe, un pere vambras feble, un powpe ove le fforechastiell pour les ministraux partenauntz a la barge del hostiel notre tres redoute [Seigneur le Roi], un petit barell de gonpouder le quart' plein.

"XX. sparres de keyne, XIIII. plankes ℈ shelles de keynes, ℈ III. delme ch'un pece, un ove lautre en longeur XII. pees."

Receipt of Thomas de Stetesham, Clerk of the King's Ship called "La George," in the 19th Edw. III., 1345—1346.[a]

The said Thomas presents, that Robert Saleman, master of the said Ship, and Thomas Moneye, constable of the same, were at the table ("mensam") of the Lord the King, with all the crew ("cum tota familia ejusdem navis"), from the 15th of June to the 24th of August 1345, for seventy days.

Lodemannage.—The said Thomas paid to a certain mariner, called "Lodman," piloting ("ducenti") the same ship out of Burseldon to Solent, 2*s.*

Item, To the same, piloting her out of "les Dounes" to the port of Sandwich, 6*s.* 8*d.* And to the same for the same from Sandwich to "les Dounes," 6*s.* 8*d.*

The same Thomas accounts to have paid at Lescluse, in Flanders, for twelve glass horologes ("pro XII. orlogiis vitreis"), price of each 4½ gross', in sterling 9*s.* Item, For four horologes of the same sort ("de eadem secta"), bought there, price of each five gross', making in sterling 3*s.* 4*d.* Item, For nine "godettis," called "ffleyghes," bought there, price of each 7*d.* Item, For seven "godettis," bought there, price of each 5*d.* Item, For one great "godetto," bought for the King, 12*d.* For the amending of divers instruments belonging to the ship, 7*d.* "For twelve stones, called adamants, called sailstones, bought there, 6*s.*" Item, For three lanthorns bought there for the said ship, 4*s.*

[a] Roll "T. G. 10,181."

Divers other Necessaries provided at Sluys.

For two cables, weighing 13 quintals, 6*l.* 10*s.*; for one "vpteigh de rann'," 4*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*; for 16 ells of "beuver," to wrap round ("involvend'") the said cables, for their safe custody, 20*d.* Item, For one "shoute" hired ("conducto") at Lescluse, for the said cables and "vpteyghs," together with a certain portion of lead bought at Bruges, for the weight of the Great Engine, 36*s.* 10*d.* Item, For boatage, &c., 8*d.* The which cables and "vpteighs" were placed in the Church of Gravening for the safe custody of the same, because the said Great Engine was broken before the said cables came; and the said cables and "vpteighs" were afterwards delivered to Peter Laye, master of the King's ship called the "Cog Thomas," by the King's command.—One bale of Spanish tallow ("cepi de Ispannia"), 36*s.* 3*d.* Item, For "bromes" for washing and cleaning the said ship, 3*d.* Item, For three cords, bought for tying the mast of the same ship in three knots ("pro mast' ejusdem navis in III. nodis ligand'") ; For sixty oars, bought for the boat of the same, price 8*d.* each, and for four large and long oars, called "skulles," 4*s.* 8*d.* Item, For six oars, bought for the "cockett" of the same ship, 2*s.* 6*d.*; two ropes, called "wrangropes," 2*s.*; a cask of pitch and a barrell of tar, 6*s.* 8*d.*; twenty lanthorns, 11*s.* 3*d.*; mending old lanthorns, 2*s.* 6*d.*; 20 lb. of candles "de cursu," 3*s.* 4*d.*; two hawsers for a castle called a "somercastel," . Item, For timber for two anchorstocks of the two anchors of the said ship, 8*s.* Item, For mending one "roth" (rudder?) of the same ship's boat, 1*s.* 1½*d.*; nails, called "glots," "midelglots," "spikes," "rundnails," "cloutnails," and "lednails;" 166 ells of canvas, to make a sail for the boat of the King's ship the "George;" 136½ ells for a sail for the "Welyfare;" for a sail for the boat of the "Plenty," 90 ells; for mending the sails of the "Lawrence," 77 ells; the boat of the "Christieno," for a sail, 51 ells; the "Messenger," mending the ship's sail, 30 ells; the "Isabell," for making a new "caban" in the same for Sir Guy de Brian, 48½ ells.

Account of John de Sleford, Clerk of the Wardrobe, Arms, &c., 38—43 *Edw. III.*, 1364—1369.[a]

Among divers articles received from a certain ship at Redcliff were 3053 bowstaves, 13,500 arrow shaftes ("arughshafts"), 4 barrels

[a] Roll marked "F. L. H. 532."

"Osmond." Item, found in the said private wardrobe of the King two great guns of copper.

Streamers and Standards, Armour and Artillery, delivered to divers Masters of Ships and Barges for divers Voyages, 43—49 Edw. III., 1369—1375.[a]

The first skin contains an account of streamers, standards, arms "quartel'," and of St. George, with bows, bowstrings, and sheaves of arrows.

Then follow lists of the arms and artillery delivered to each ship:—

To Bartholomew Stygayn, Master of the "Philipe."

Spoilt.

1—56	haubergeons.
1 bacinet 2 palets } —56	bacinets and palets.
10—60	bows.
32—140	sheaves of arrows.
18 doz.—18	dozen ("duss'") bowstrings.
1—26	jacks.
3—26	doublets.
6 targets—62	targets and pavises.
8—24	long lances.
50—150	short lances.
3	chests ("coffr's") bound with iron.
1	"firing barrel."
1	tonel.
12	standards, quartel' and of St. George.
8	banner-shafts or banner-staffs.

In some Ships from one to two "pipes" are mentioned. No ship has more than one firing barrel. One ship, the "Christopher," had ten "ketelhattes."

[a] Roll marked "E. B. 380."

Particulars of the Account of John de Sleaford, Clerk of the Privy Wardrobe, of Armour, Shot, Gunpowder, &c., 46—48 Edw. III., 1372—1374.[a]

Payments for "helvyng" of eight guns and ten hatchets, "ad modum pycoys," by agreement made in gross with a certain "joignour," 13*s.*; and for painting 106 targets with the arms of St. George, received from a certain ship called the "Gracedieu," at his first arrival in England, delivered to the said John de Haytfeld for the same voyage, 53*s.* 4*d.*

And for the wages of two fletchers, each at 6*d.* per diem, by forty days going in divers ships in the King's service for the safe custody and mending of bows and arrows in the said voyage, 40*s.*

And for a certain "lyghter" hired from the Tower to Billingsgate, to carry pipes to a certain ship, 3*s.* 4*d.*; and for pulleys ("polyss") and divers other instruments to draw ("hauriend") the said pipes from the said "lyghter," 4*s.* 4*d.*

And for wages of several workmen, each at 6*d.* per diem, for various terms, in the making of powder and "pelottes" of lead for "gunnes" at the Tower of London, 33*s.*; and for one quarter of coal, price 10*s.*; and for talwood, bought for casting ("fundendo") the lead and drying the powder, 5*s.* 2*d.*; and for willow fagots to make powder, price of the hundred 4*s.*

And for four "trays" of wood, price 3*d.*; and for brazen pots and dishes, price in the whole 13*d.*, bought for the drying of the same powder over the fire and by the sun, 2*s.* 1*d.*; and for leather bags to hold the same powder, 10*s.* 7*d.*; and for two brass mortars, three iron pestles, twelve iron spoons, to make leaden bullets ("pil' plumb'"), ten moulds of "laton" to make the same; one pair of scales to weigh the powder; thirty small barrels with "garnett'," hasps, and staples, to hold and keep the leaden bullets ("pil' plumb'"); thirty small hanging locks ("serrur' parv' pend'") for the aforesaid thirty barrels; 220 lbs. of saltpetre, two "sarces," eighteen "belowes," twenty-four leather bags to "deliver" the powder; earthen pots and pans to dry the powder at the fire and sun; 400 fagots of willow for making charcoal thereof, and 100 of "talwode," and half a hundred of fagots, bought at divers prices by John Derby Clerk; and also boatage, portage, and carriage of lead, guns, barrels, and other necessaries, to divers

[a] Roll "T. G. 674."

places, together with wages of workmen and labourers upon the making of the powder, bullets, and charcoal aforesaid, for twenty-two days; likewise by the same John paid at divers times between the 1st day of March in the 44th year, and the last day of March in the 48th year. 25*l.* 4*s.* 8*d.*

To Stephen Smyth for 200 "pycoys," price 12*d.* each; for thirteen iron "patell'" for guns, price 5*s.* each; for two great guns of iron, price 40*s.* each; for forty iron martels for guns, price each 10*d.*; for twenty-eight iron armelles[a] for the guns aforesaid, price 3*d.*; for twenty-eight firing irons, price 2*d.*; for ten pairs of iron forceps, price 10*s.*; and for 120 quarrel-heads for springalds, price 1*d.* each, bought for the King's voyage. . . . . 19*l.* 2*s.*

Of John Derby, of the Remainder of his last Account.—184 lbs. of powder for "gunnes," proceeding from 135 lbs. of saltpetre, and 49 lbs. of sulphur vivum; 242 lbs. of pure sulphur vivum.

Sum of the delivery of divers things.

White bows, 2899.
Arrows, 12,557 garbs.
Quarells, 44,351.
Balistæ, 49; 8 of horn and 41 of wood.
"Bauderiz," 43.
Haucepez, 9.
Vicez, 1 vice for the balistæ.
Bowstrings, 111 gross, 7 dozen, and 10.
Caltrapes, 10,000.
Iron guns, 29.
Guns of "laton," 1 great gun with 3 "pootz."
Arrow-heads, 5000.
Coffers, small and short, 216; of which 1 short.
Long pavises, 70.
Empty pipes, 22.
Barrells, 1.
Standards, 62; 31 of St. George, 31 of the King's arms quartell'.
Hatchets, 7.
Long lances, 17.
Lance heads, 36.
Gloves of plate, 5 pairs.
"Plat'," 8 pairs; of which 7 pairs covered with leather.
"Pycoys," 19.
"Tribril'," 40.
Bacinetts, 4.
Aventails, 8; of which 4 of steel.
"Iron loricæ," 25.
"Standards for loricæ," 144.
Vambraces, 1 pair.
Rerebraces, 1 pair.
Doublets, 1.
Swords, 1.
"Panuz," 1 pair.
"Braz," 1 pair.
"Palett'," 8.
Jacks, 2.
Iron cressets to cast fire, 4.
Linnen cloth "heñ," 89 ells.

[a] This word is not very clearly written. It may be "drivells."

Linnen cloth "custani'," 171 ells.
Worsted of divers colours, 16 pieces.
Canvas, 111 ells.
Varnish, 1 barrel, weight 28 lb.
Thread of divers colours, 3 lb. 1 quarter.
Flemish chest, 1.
Iron martells, 6.
Dryvells[a] of iron, 28.
Firing irons, 28.
"Patellæ" of iron, 13.
Iron forceps, 10 pairs.
Lead, 1 "carratt" and 6 "wagh'."
Saltpetre, 1 pipe and 2 barrels, weighing 1050 lb.
Gunpowder, 60 lb.
"Moldes called formes to make bullets," 5.
Sulphur vivum, 126 lb.

The Naval Accounts from the 43 Edw. III., 1369, to the 51 Edw. III., 1377, are on the Rolls at Carlton Ride, marked "E. B. 380;" "W. N. 873;" "H. C. H. 336;" "H. C. H. 553;" "H. C. H. 1122;" "H. C. H. 1119;" "W. N. 1525;" "H. C. H. 382;" "T. G. 221;" "E. B. 142;" "T. G. 109;" "T. G. 1216;" "W. N. 857;" "E. B. 160;" "W. N. 409;" "T. G. 345;" "T. G. 11,725;" "T. G. 1218;" "W. N. 2930;" "E. B. 1685;" "T. G. 203;" "T. G. 3397;" "W. N. 610;" "T. G. 674;" "J. P. R. 8289;" "T. G. 3107;" "E. B. 453;" "J. P. R. 8288;" "E. B. 1528;" "W. N. 81;" "W. N. 468;" "T. G. 281;" "W. N. 531;" "J. P. R. 1612;" "F. L. H. 334;" "W. N. 1408;" "J. P. R. 9574;" "T. G. 338;" "H. C. H. 1522."

III.

"THE BLACK BOOK OF THE ADMIRALTY."

[Referred to p. 193.]

The great importance of the manuscript volume called "THE BLACK BOOK OF THE ADMIRALTY," which is supposed to contain all the ancient Ordinances and Laws relating to the Navy, caused farther inquiries[b] to be made respecting it, the result of which was very satisfactory.

Mr. Luders, whose treatises[c] on various constitutional subjects reflect honour upon his learning and research, in his investigations of the

[a] See the last note.
[b] Vide vol. I. pp. 73, 155, 156.
[c] "Tracts on various subjects in the Law and History of England, by Alexander Luders," (2 vols. 8vo. 1810,) vol. II. p. 464.

Laws of Oleron, found among Selden's manuscripts in the Bodleian Library,[a] what he at first supposed was an ancient and contemporary copy of the Admiralty Book; but, upon closely examining the volume, he discovered that it was the *original book itself*. It appears that Selden borrowed the volume, probably from the Admiralty Court, and, not having returned it, his executors sent it, with his other manuscripts, to the Bodleian Library. Mr. Luder's account of the book is as follows:—

"Having lately visited the Bodleian Library, for the sake of examining some manuscripts, and, among others, one described in the catalogue to contain the Laws of Oleron, I was shewn what I then supposed an ancient and contemporary copy of the Admiralty Book, a thin quarto, No. 3341, among Selden's MSS. Upon reading Selden's description of the book in his 'Vindiciæ Maris Clausi,' and comparing that with the notes I took of this MS., I find proof of its being the very Black Book itself, agreeing in all the particular marks there noted by him; as the signature of Lord Clinton, (which I compared with a facsimile engraving of that nobleman's autograph,) and of W. Harewood, and the dates. The writing is very fair and perfect. It has no title by which to be known, so as to have been described in the catalogue by one who did not examine and know the contents.

"Mr. Selden writes of its having been *long in his hands;* and probably it continued there till his death, and so came to Oxford with the rest of his MSS., among which it now remains, and where, for the benefit of learning, it were better to continue. He does not give it the name of Black Book, but *MS. Commentarius de Rebus Admiralitatis.* Since his time authors have given it that name familiarly; perhaps from its holding a station among the Admiralty records corresponding to that of the Black Book of the Exchequer in the records of that court. Exton and Prynne express themselves as if they had seen the book, and as if it remained in the Court of Admiralty in their time. Yet this is not probable, if it was among Selden's books at the time supposed. The question, however, is not to be determined without ascertaining the times when they severally wrote. Exton writes thus of it:—'That ancient authentic book of the Admiralty, in which all therein comprehended are engrossed in vellum in an ancient character, which hath been from time to time kept in the registry of that court for the use of the judges of the Admiralty successively.'[b]

[a] It is a thin quarto, and marked "No. 3341."

[b] Maritime Dicæology, chap. XII.

"Selden calls it the jewel of the Admiralty records, and supposes it as ancient as the reign of Edward the Third. Part of the writing may be so; but some of the contents are of later date. The Queenborough inquisition, which seems of the most ancient character, was held in 49 Edw. III. So that Prynne's opinion,[a] that the writing is of different periods, may be more correct. The book begins as follows, without title or preface:—

"'Puisque lome est fait Admiral premierement lui faut ordonner et substituer desoulz lui pour estre ses lieutenans,' &c. Then follow nineteen articles or chapters, not numbered, of the admiral's duty, authority, pay, &c. Then it proceeds thus:—'Pardevant nous avons traittié de l'eleccion de l'Admiral; or faisons ordonnance coment l'Admiral soy doit gouverner et rieuler par mer et par terre en la terre des enemys sil y arrive. Premierement il doit faire proclamer,' &c.

"Then follow many items on various subjects, and in the midst of them comes in English the oath of the inquest, beginning thus:—'This *here yee*,[b] my Lord the Admiral, that I John,' &c., which is followed by a long list of articles of inquiry, and other articles of Admiralty law in French, in the manner of the old *Capitula Itineris*. Among them are those of the inquisition at Queenborough, in Number 18. Then follow the laws of Oleron, in order beginning as before copied, 546, and going on to the number of thirty-four chapters. They have no title. An illuminated letter (P) of the first word, *Premierement*, more ornamented than the rest, is the only distinction of the subject. The book contains other matters; and, among these, a Latin translation of some of the French subjects, and others relating to the Earl Marshal's Court of Henry the Eighth's time.

"Besides the office-copy of this MS. at the Admiralty in Whitehall, there is one in Lincoln's Inn Library, among Sir Matthew Hale's MSS., according to the catalogue, No. 5621. There is another, but not correct, among the Lansdowne MSS. lately placed in the British Mu-

[a] Prynne says, "This book is of an ancient hand, not written all at once, as I conceive, nor by one person, but the first part in Edw. III. or Ric. II., the latter part in Hen. IV., V., and VI. reigns, long before any controversies arose between the Admiralty and King's courts about foreign contracts; whereof they had been in peaceable possession time out of mind when written, therefore not to be suspected in this particular as partial or untrue. There is nothing in any record or history which contradicts the ordinances or inquisitions registered in, or here transcribed out of it, but what concurs with and confirms their verity and reality." —Animadversions, pp. 115, 116.

[b] Vide p. 204, note, *ante*.

seum, which had belonged to Mr. Powle.[a] In this the laws of Oleron are described by name, and made a separate article at p. 165. The Whitehall copy could not have been made from the book which I saw at Oxford, because of the material addition before mentioned of the English words of title to the Laws of Oleron; and because the writing and paper are of a date long subsequent to the time of its being shut up in the Bodleian, and unknown."

Another copy of "The Black Book of the Admiralty" is in the possession of the Right Honourable John Wilson Croker, and has most obligingly been lent to the Author of this work.

The preceding notices of "The Black Book" prove the correctness of the opinion,[b] that the early proceedings recorded in it were not written at the time they occurred, nor probably for at least a century afterwards, and, consequently, that they are not entitled to the consideration which is due to contemporaneous statements.

The opportunity which an allusion to these remarks on the Laws of Oleron affords is gladly taken to refer to the elaborate commentary on those laws in Mons. Pardessus' "Collection de Lois Maritimes,"[c] one of the most learned and valuable works of the present century.

IV.

ON THE OFFICE AND DUTIES OF ADMIRALS, THE MANAGEMENT OF FLEETS, MARINE LAW, AND THE PROCESS IN THE ADMIRAL'S COURT, &c., IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.[d]

[Referred to in page 193.]

After a man is made an Admiral, first, he must ordain and substitute under him, to be his lieutenants, deputies, and other officers, of

[a] *Lansdowne* MSS. 318. There is another, but more modern copy of "The Black Book of the Admiralty" in the *Hargrave* MS., No. 185, in the *British Museum*.

[b] Vide vol. I. pp. 156, 157.

[c] Five volumes 4to. Paris, 1828. Vol. I. chap. VIII.

[d] Translated from a copy in Norman French, in the "Black-Book of the Admiralty," in the possession of the Right Honourable John Wilson Croker.

the most loyal, sage, and discreet in the marine law and ancient customs of the sea that he can anywhere find, so that, by their aid and their good and right governance, the office may be governed to the honour and profit of the realm.

Item, Then ought the Admiral, with all the speed he well may, to write to all his lieutenants, deputies, and other officers whomsoever, by all the sea-coasts throughout the whole realm, to know how many ships, barges, and other vessels of war the King can have in his realm when he pleaseth, or when he may require them, and of what burthen they be, and also the names and owners of them.

Item, To know also by good and lawful inquests, taken before the said lieutenants, deputies, or other officers of the Admiral, how many fencible seamen are in the realm; and the reason is, that, if inquiry be made thereupon of the Admiral by the King in his council, that then he may well and justly shew them the number as well of ships, barges, balingers, and other vessels of war, and also the names of the owners and possessors of them, as the number of all fencible mariners throughout the realm, and thus the King and his council will know for certain always his force at sea.

Item, It is to be known that when the Admiral "chivauche" to assemble any fleet of war, or for other business of the King or the realm, if he be a knight he shall take by the day for his wages 4*s.* sterling, according to the rate of his estate and degree.

Item, It is needful and necessary for the Admiral to cause to be ordained and provided that all his office be justly and so wisely executed for divers hard causes and casual cases which at divers times and oft come into the said office, that each plaintiff and defendant have each in his degree and in his right that which of right and justice belongs to him, according to the law and the ancient custom of the sea.

Item, For the expedition and performance of the premises and other subsequent things, it is competent and necessary for the Admiral to have our Lord the King's letters of obedience directed to mayors, sheriffs, and all other officers and ministers of the King, whom it may concern, to be obedient to the Admiral and his deputies.

Moreover, If the Admiral be a knight, he shall take by the day for himself on the sea 4*s.*, and for each knight going in his company 2*s.*, and for each esquire armed by the day 12*d.*; and he shall have for reward of thirty men-at-arms, at the end of each quarter of the year, 100 marks, and so he shall take of all; and also for every archer 6*d.* by the day, and so shall all and each of his companions take their

wages of him. And if the Admiral be a baron, he shall take by the day 6*s.* 8*d.*; and if he be an earl, he shall take by the day 13*s.* 4*d.*

After a fleet be assembled and arrived at a port, or several ports of the realm, to go and remain on the sea by command of the King and ordinance of the realm, for the defence of the same, with a certain number of armed men and archers in the company of the King or of his lieutenant, the Admiral ought, by office, to choose and order for the person of the King,[a] if he be present, or of his lieutenant, the best and most sufficient ship of the realm, which shall be called the Chamber of the King or of his lieutenant; and if the King be present, then the steward of his household ought to choose out of the best ships of all the fleet, that is to say, one ship for the hall, another for the wardrobe, a third for the larder, and a fourth for the kitchen, and more if need be. And if the King have a son or sons, brother or brothers, uncle or uncles, in his company, then good, able, and sufficient ships shall be ordained, assigned, and delivered for their persons. Before the Admiral choose or select any ship or ships for his person, the Admiral ought to assign and deliver to the lords and captains, to each according to his estate, shipment sufficient, as well for their persons as for their victuals, if he have shipment to do it.

Item, As to the wages of mariners in voyages of the King or of the Admiral, each master of a ship or other vessel shall take 6*d.* by the day, and each constable of the fleet shall take the same wages by the day.

Item, Every mariner shall take 3½*d.* by the day, and every mariner shall have of reward in the week 6*d.*; and every sea boy[b] shall take 2½*d.*[c] by the day. The masters, constables, or boys shall take no fixed reward.[d]

And for that the Admiral is the governor of the mariners, and ought to govern and maintain them in all their laws and customs, and defend them from all injuries against all, and if there should be need, to sue for their wages and to obtain payment, the said Admiral shall have and take from each pound paid of wages to the mariners, 4*d.*, for which 4*d.* the Admiral ought by night, at his mast-head, all the time that the fleet is on the sea, to carry two lanthorns, so that all the masters of

[a] "pour le corps du Roy."

[b] "ijd. ob." in this MS. and in the Lansdowne MS. 318; but all Naval Accounts of the period shew that boys received only three-halfpence a day, and the sum mentioned in this document may have been an error of the transcribers.

[c] "garcon marisne."

[d] "en certaine."

the fleet may know and understand by the light the course of the Admiral, the which course they shall keep, &c.

And the Admiral is the governor of the mariners, and ought to govern and maintain them in their laws; and the Admiral is bound by office, if the King be present in his own person, every day before night to sail after the King, and to know his will what course they shall hold that night and on the day following, and in the same manner, in the absence of the King, he ought to do to his lieutenant; and afterwards all the ships and other vessels ought to assemble around the Admiral to know what course he will hold, and he shall make it known to all to whom he can; and afterwards, they who are so informed shall make it known to the others. And for that every one shall follow the Admiral, the Admiral ought to carry a light, if it be not otherwise ordained to the contrary by the King, his lieutenant, or by the Admiral, for certain necessary causes.

Item, If the King, in his own person, be in the fleet, then there should be in his ship three great lanthorns, whereof one should be higher than the other two, and the two shall be equally hung; and the King may have more lanthorns if he please, if so be the master of the ship advises that it is good [so to do], so that all the fleet may have cognizance of the ship in which the King is. The King's lieutenant shall carry three lanthorns, as has been said, but not more.

Item, All nights while the fleet is on the sea, the admiral ought to carry two great lanthorns in the two parts of the mast-head of the ship in which he is, that he may be known as the Admiral; and if there be Vice-admirals, he may give each of them leave to carry one lanthorn, and no more, at the top of his mast, for the view and cognizance of the fleet, and that the ships of the fleet shall not part company for default of light. And if it chance that the Admiral be the King's lieutenant on the sea, then he shall carry his lanthorn as the King's lieutenant.

Item, The Vice-admiral of the West ought, by office, from the Foreland of Thanet towards all the coasts of the south-west, to carry two lanthorns in the manner as has been said. And the Vice-admiral of the North in that part should carry only one lanthorn.

Item, In like manner the Vice-admiral of the North, from the said Foreland towards the North and East, ought to carry two lanthorns. And there the Vice-admiral of the West shall carry only one lanthorn.

Item, The offices and bounds of the said Vice-admirals shall be

divided at the mouth of the Thames, towards the south and west, on the one part, and the north and east on the other part.

Item, It is to be known that at any convenient time when it shall please the admiral to assemble the captains and masters of the fleet to advise with them, he shall carry high in the middle of the mast of his ship a banner of council,[a] so that in all parts of the fleet, either in ports or out upon the sea, it may be known and perceived, &c. And then immediately the captains and masters of the ships are bound to assemble without delay with their boats well manned with mariners, to sail and go to the ship[b] of the Admiral, there to hear and do that which, by the council of the Admiral, shall be ordained. And if the King or his lieutenant be there, they should do to them as it is ordered to be done to the Admiral. And if any of the fleet refuse so to do, and will not do it, they shall be punished as rebels according to the law of the sea.

Item, If it happen that under the King's wages[c] on the sea or in ports, the enemy's goods be taken by the whole fleet, or part of the same, then the King shall have and take of all manner of such goods the fourth part, and the owners of the ships another fourth part. And the captors of the same goods shall have the other moiety, which moiety ought to be equally divided amongst them: of which moiety the Admiral in each ship shall have two shares, that is to say, as much as two mariners, if he be present at the time that the prize was taken; and if he be absent, then he shall have of each vessel but one share. And those of the fleet who are out of sight at the time of the capture, but within sight, so that they might semblably assist the captors of the prize with their sails, if need be, &c.[d]

Item, If not under the King's wages any goods be taken on the sea by "gallioters" or others, then the King shall claim no right nor property therein, and shall have no part thereof. But they who take them shall have them; except that the Admiral shall have two shares in each ship as has been said,—that is to say, as much as two men; one share "ove la mayne," and another "ove la vitaille," and the ship.

Hitherto we have treated of the election of the Admiral: now we

[a] "prendra haut en mylieu del mast une baner de conseil."

[b] "naviger et aller."

[c] "desoub' les guages du Roy."

[d] "Et iceux de la flotte qui sont hors de vieue au temps de la prise, et deins la vewe parency qu'ils soient semblable aider à les captours de la prise ove four veilles si myster soit," &c.

make the ordinance how the Admiral himself should rule[a] and govern by sea and land in the country of the enemy, if he come there.

First, he should cause to be proclaimed that no man touch the holy body of our Lord Jesus Christ, upon pain of being drawn and hanged.

Item, That no man be so bold[b] as to rob or pillage holy church, nor to ravish any woman against her will upon pain of death.

Item, That no master of a ship or other vessel shall cross[c] his sail aloft before the Admiral has done so; and that directly afterwards all the other ships and vessels shall cross [their sails] as well as they can, but no one before, upon pain of being reputed rebels and so punished.

Item, That no ship nor other vessel cast anchor in any place or port before the Admiral shall have anchored, unless for reasonable cause; and that immediately after the Admiral shall have anchored, all the other ships and vessels shall anchor as close around him as they well can, upon the same penalty.

Item, That all manner of ships and vessels shall keep themselves together as close around the Admiral's ship as they well can, so that none be far ahead or astern the Admiral's ship, except by order to the contrary, upon the said penalty.

Item, That no ship nor other vessel enter any port nor quit the fleet without leave of the Admiral, by night or day, upon the said penalty.

Item, In case that any ship or other vessel of the fleet perceive any vessel of the enemy on the sea, then he shall hoist a banner on high, whereby the Admiral's ship and other ships of the fleet may have cognisance that he has seen one or more of the enemy's vessels, and so afterwards order the best they can to encounter them.

Item, If any ship or vessel of the said fleet have leave and power of the Admiral to pass out of the fleet, about any message or other business, if they meet or find any foreign vessels on the sea or in the enemy's ports, then those of our fleet should demand of the masters and governors of those foreign vessels whose they are, and well examine their cargo, together with their muniments and indentures; and if anything suspicious be found in those vessels to shew that the goods found therein belonged to the enemy, then the said vessels, with their masters and governors, together with the goods being in the

[a] "ronneler." [b] "hardiez." [c] "croise son veille en haut."

same, shall be safely carried before the Admiral; and there, if it be found that they are loyal merchants and friends, without suspicion of colouring, the goods shall be re-delivered to them without damage to them; otherwise they shall be taken with their goods and "munsonez" [ransomed?] as the law of the sea wills and demands, &c.

Item, If any of our ships or vessels encounter on the sea or in ports any other vessels which make any resistance or defence[a] against those of our ships or vessels, then it shall be well lawful for our people to assail the others as enemies, and take them with the strong hand and carry them entirely as they are taken before the Admiral without pillaging or damaging them, there to receive what the law and custom of the sea wills and demands.

Item, If any vessel of the enemy be taken by any of our fleet, that no one be so bold as to carry it out of the said fleet by night or by day without leave of the Admiral, upon pain of paying double the value of the same with the goods therein; but he that has taken it should carry it before the Admiral, there to take and receive what the law of the sea wills and demands.

Item, In case that any ship or vessel of the enemy be taken by any of our fleet, then the captors shall have to their use all manner of goods and harness found upon the "haches," or upon the "tilac," or "calfatour" of the said vessel, except the tackle and other things appertaining to the governance of the said vessel, and also saving the ancient customs and usages of the sea.

Item, That no captain or master of a ship suffer any mariner of his vessel to be evilly entreated[b] nor beaten. But if any mariner transgress or do anything against the ordinance of the law of the sea, then the captain or the master shall send or bring such mariners so trespassing before the Admiral or before the Vice-admiral, there to receive what the law of the sea wills and demands.

Item, If it happen that there be any great tempest, either by night or by day, which causes the vessels of the fleet to separate and part company, then, as well as they can, they shall follow the Admiral's ship; or the Vice-admiral's if they lose sight of the Admiral, and this upon pain of being held for rebels.

Item, When the Admiral or the fleet shall have cast their anchors before any coasts or in the enemy's ports, that then the Admiral shall

[a] "queux face ne rebellitees ou defence."

[b] "malement suppris."

order and assign a sufficient stale[a] of armed men and archers, each vessel furnishing as many as are necessary, to protect those who are sent for water or for other necessaries for our said fleet.

Item, In case that the said fleet come before any fortress, city, or castle, by sea or by land, that no man, of whatsoever condition he be, be so bold, without leave of his Admiral, as to make any assault or to draw bow against the said place in any manner without the ordinance of the Admiral, under heavy penalty and forfeiture at the discretion of the Admiral.

Item, Every time that it shall be ordered by the Admiral and his council that armed men and archers shall land on the enemy's coast to seek victuals or other things, then there shall be ordained a sufficient "stale" of armed men and archers who shall wait together on the land until the "forreiours" return to them; and that no one pass out of the "stale" to any part who is assigned to remain with the "stale," upon pain of losing his harness and being imprisoned at the will of the Admiral.

Item, That no man, mariner or other, put fire in any manner on the enemy's land, if not by the ordinance and commandment of the Admiral, upon pain of death.

Item, That no captain or governor of a ship or other vessel suffer any manner of people who are under his government to land without the governance of such sufficient persons as shall answer for their acts in case that they shall commit any offence or trespass against the peace or any of the country upon pain of imprisonment and judgment according to the usage and custom of the country where the trespass is committed.

Item, In the same manner it is ordained that no master or constable of a ship or other vessel shall suffer any of their mariners to go ashore without good and sufficient governance, as they will answer for their acts upon the penalty aforesaid, &c.

Item, That no captain, nor governor, master, nor constable of a ship or other vessel shall suffer any boat or other vessel to land in any place

[a] "Stale of horsemen in a field, gueeteors." (Palsgrave.) Roquefort explains "gueude" by "troupe, société, compagnie Roi." The word occurs in the "Statutes and ordinances made by the Right noble prince King Henry the Fifth at trety and counseill of Maunt;"—

"Ordinaunces for Forageres in places dangerous. — Also, that no maner man goe for no forage, but it be with a *stale*, the whiche shall fowrth twise a weeke, that is to wite, . . . day and . . . day, upon peyne to be chastised at my lord's wille." (History of the Battle of Agincourt, Appendix, p. 43.)

after they have quitted it for any cause, without leave or ordinance of the Admiral, upon pain of having the judgment aforesaid, &c.

Item, That no ship or vessel of the fleet for pride, or hatred, or envy,[a] on the sea, or entering port, or in port or town, shall damage another ship or vessel of the fleet or any prize taken by those[b] of the fleet, upon pain of making full amends for what is damaged by his default. And he who shall damage or injure another in entering port, or within ports, or on the sea, involuntarily, or by reason of tempest or otherwise, shall pay and make amends of the half of the damage at the discretion and judgment of the Admiral.

Let inquiry be made concerning thieves in ports, as of ropes, boats, anchors, and other appurtenances of a ship. If any one be indicted that he has feloniously taken a boat, or an anchor, above the value of 21*d.*, he shall be hanged if he be convicted thereof by twelve.

Item, If any one be indicted that he has feloniously taken a buoy-rope of whatever value it be and it be fastened to an anchor "dedeins lieu" by the buoy, he shall be hanged if he be not acquitted thereof by twelve.

Item, If any one be indicted that he has cut the cable of a ship wilfully, without reasonable cause, whereby a ship is lost or any man is killed, for the death of the man he shall be hanged; and if no man be killed, and he has means, he shall pay to the owners of the ship the value of the ship and their damages, according to the discretion of the Admiral, and shall make fine to the King; and if he hath no means of requiting the said ship, and the owners of the said ship will prosecute him, he shall be hanged if he be convicted thereof by twelve. And in such case he shall not be condemned at the suit of the King, and the battle lies not in this case.

Item, If any man "venue" an anchor of a ship by night or by day, without warning the master or mariners of the ship, and the ship is lost for want of the said anchor, or a man killed, he shall have the same judgment as above is said.

Item, In all manner of cases of felony in which mariners are sentenced to death[c] for the goods of aliens, if they be not enemies of our Lord the King, they shall have their merchandises so taken, provided that they do not pursue the felons to the death.

Item, If foreign ships be in a port and they be robbed and ill-treat-

[a] "pur orgail ne pur haine ou envie."

[b] "ou pris par ceux."

[c] "gont comittez a mort."

ed wrongfully, the warden of the said port shall be taken and six or eight of the best and most sufficient of the vicinity around and arrested until the Admiral be informed who committed the felony.

Item, If there be several ships in the said port, the Admiral shall take the masters of the ships and "burcers" and four of the company of each ship, and cause the ships to be searched until he shall find the felons, or be more fully informed who committed the felony.

Item, Let inquiry be made concerning petty felons, as of oars, and anchors, and other small things in ships. If a man be indicted that he has feloniously taken an oar, or an anchor, or other small thing and he be convicted thereof by twelve, he shall be imprisoned for forty days; and if another time he be convicted of such case, he shall be imprisoned for half a year; and if the third time he be convicted of the same thing he shall be hanged. The lieutenants of the Admiral may not in their sessions try life or limb without especial warrant.

Item, Let inquiry be made concerning all common malefactors on the sea and in ports. If a man be indicted that he be a common malefactor, he shall be taken by a capias by the marshal or sheriff; and it is necessary in his indictment by express words to speak of one misdeed or trespass in certain, and, moreover, a common malefactor; and if he be indicted by especial matter and then by general words, and convicted thereof by twelve, he shall be adjudged to prison for one year, and then shall make fine to the King; and if he have no means, he shall remain another year in prison. But there are great and small trespasses. A man who habitually molests ships, boats, and other vessels, merchants, or mariners, so that they cannot pass at their pleasure to sell their merchandize, and is convicted thereof by twelve, shall be adjudged to prison for a year, and then he shall make fine to the King; and if he have no means to pay fine to the King, he shall be imprisoned another year.

Item, A man who is accustomed by "meastrie" to take merchandise of merchants or mariners against their will, and pay them at his pleasure and what he pleases, whereby merchants and mariners refuse the said port, to the damage of the common people, and be convicted thereof, he shall have the same judgment as afore is said: but if those trespasses are committed once and a man be indicted thereof, he shall make fine to the King without imprisonment, if the Admiral see fit.

Item, After the delivery of every person indicted generally for trespass, he shall find mainprise or surety at the court for his good behaviour, and not to molest or damage the merchants or mariners; and

if he be convicted other times that he has acted against the surety so found, he shall have double the punishment of a trespasser general, and for the surety be heavily amerced according to the discretion of the Admiral or his lieutenants.

Item, There are several lesser trespasses which relate to one single man, and not to many, as dispute and other things leading to battery. If a man be indicted that he has beaten a certain person, and that he is a common beater and malefactor in salt water, in such case if he be convicted by twelve, he shall be imprisoned for twenty-one days, and then he shall make fine to the King. And if it be for a single assault, he shall make fine without imprisonment.

Item, In each case of trespass, where a man is indicted and convicted, the Admiral may, if he will, cause him to find surety for his good behaviour.

Item, In all other trespasses, when a man is indicted and convicted, he shall be adjudged according to the quantity of the trespass. And if it happen that a man maim another between the flood and the ebb,[a] and it be understood that he was the beginner of the fray, he shall be sent to prison until he shall make amends to the maimed, by view and discretion of the Admiral, and then make fine to the King of 100*s.*, or lose the hand with which he struck, if he have not the grace of the King or the High-Admiral.

And if one maim another in self-defence, and it be found by verdict of twelve, he shall not make fine to the King, nor lose anything to the King or to the party.

Item, The master of each ship for mayhem, robbery, homicide, and trespass committed in the ship where he is master, may arrest the malefactors, as well mariners as others[b], and keep them in custody until he shall certify to the Admiral or his lieutenants of their misdeeds. And all those of the said ship shall be obedient to the master in such case. And if any mariner of the said ship act against the master in such case, he shall have the same punishment as the malefactor would have.

Item,[c] In the time of King Henry the First, and in the time of several Kings before and since, when a man was indicted for felony, the Admiral or his lieutenant sent a capias to the marshal of the court or the sheriff to take him; and if he were not found, and it was returned by

[a] "le flewe et la refleue."

[b] The word "autres" is supplied from the Lansdowne MS. 318.

[c] Prynne cites this passage from the Black Book of the Admiralty, pp. 24, 27, Animadversions, p. 106.

the marshal or by the sheriff at the end of the second session that he was not found, and there shall be a space between the two sessions of twenty-one days or more, he shall be demanded solemnly at the second session; and if any one allege for him on the same day that he was beyond sea in a certain ship before the Admiral, and it be so found by inquest, the Admiral shall issue his warrant to the sheriff or marshal to seize his goods, in the view and presence of good men, to justify the inditement, and to take him if he can. And if he return, that he has seized his goods, and that he cannot find the body, the goods shall be, by indenture between the marshal of the Admiral and the sheriff, appraised, remaining in custody of the sheriff; and if it be found by inquest that he is beyond sea, the Admiral shall issue again a second time a capias to take him, and not to seize his goods; and at the third session no allegation can be made for him except that he is in the King's service, then the fourth time the capias shall issue; and at the fourth session he has lost his goods if he come not, nor allege the King's service. And then it shall be cried that he be, by a certain day and place, before the Admiral, to answer to the King for a certain felony whereof he is indicted, or otherwise he shall be banished out of England, and from the sea belonging to the King of England, for forty years, more or less, and the said day shall be assigned by a quarter of a year or less; and at the fifth session he shall be banished if he come not to answer. After the banishment his goods may not come to England, if he be banished for felony, and the goods appraised by indentures shall be delivered to the King.[a]

Item, People who are banished for an offence shall not be banished except for a year or two, &c., according to the discretion of the Admiral; and if he be found in England during the time, he shall have judgment as before is said; and the goods of him that is banished for an offence shall not be forfeited to the King if they come[b] to England in the same time. And if a man be banished for an offence and then return to England after his limited time, he shall suffer no damage from the King if he do not offend again; and if he offend again, he shall be banished for double the time he was at the commencement, and if a third time, treble. And when the Admiral or his lieutenants at the fourth session have assigned the person indicted to come at a certain day or be banished, and the time shall be limited a quarter of a year, in the

[a] "puis le banissement ses biens ne purrount venir en Engleterre sil soit banny en felonie, et les biens preiscz par endentures seront liverez au Roy."

[b] "coment qils veignent."

same time the lieutenant shall cause to be proclaimed in two counties, held in the same county where the sessions are held, that he who is indicted come at a certain day and place assigned before the Admiral, to answer to the King, on pain of being banished, on the same day when the Admiral shall command the sheriff to cause to be proclaimed in his sessions in the counties, in the manner above said. And after the assigned day, if he come not, the Admiral or his lieutenants shall cause solemnly to be proclaimed how the person indited has been summoned three times in our sessions, and twice at the two counties held &c. If then he come not to answer to the King, we award that he be banished out of England from that day to the end of forty years, more or less. And we forbid, on the part of the King, that any man of the realm of England harbour, aid, or succour him, on pain of life and limb. And at the next court held after the said four sessions, it shall be proclaimed in the same manner, and then he is fully banished. And if any one receive him after the said county cry, and he be indicted and convicted by twelve of having received him, knowing that he was banished, he shall be hanged, and his goods forfeited to the King, whether he be banished for felony or trespass, and the banished shall be beheaded if he be found within the realm after the sessions, as above is said. And if he be indicted in the Admiralty of the North, where he was banished, the Admiral of the North shall send to the Admiral of the West how such an one is banished in such a place for felony or trespass, from such a day, for so many years; and in like manner, and in this case, every lieutenant hath power to put the banished person to death. And this ordinance was first made at Ipswich, in the time of King Henry the First, by the Admirals of the North and West, and other lords there.

Item, Be it inquired concerning ships which are arrested for the service of the King, or for other reasonable cause, by the officers of the King or of the Admiral, and break the arrest, and by whom the aforesaid ships are brought back and returned, and of the mariners who are ordered for the King's service and withdraw themselves. And in case that a man be indicted for having broken his arrest in his ship arrested for the King's service, and be thereof convicted by twelve, he shall lose his ship, if he have not the grace of the King or the High Admiral. And for that it has been ofttimes debated in England for the arrest of ships, when the King has sent serjeants-at-arms or other ministers to arrest ships for the King's use, and the owners of the ships come before the Admiral and allege that their ships were not arrested, it was

ordained in the time of King Richard the First at Grimsby,* by the advice of several lords of the realm, that when ships shall be arrested for the King's service, the King shall write by his letters-patent to the Admiral to arrest ships, more or less, at the King's pleasure, and according to what he shall have need of, and the Admiral shall write to his lieutenants to cause execution thereof to be done, and the cause was for that the Admiral and his lieutenants are of record; and then the Admiral shall write to the King, or to the Chancellor of England, the names of the ships so arrested, together with the names of their owners and masters, and in such case neither the owner of the ship nor the master shall come to say that the ship was not arrested, nor shall they be heard thereupon.

Item, If a man be indicted that he was ordered for the King's service to be in a ship, whether it be for war or peace, and flies the said service, he shall be adjudged to prison for a year; and if he be another time convicted thereof, he shall have double punishment, if he have not the grace of the King or the High Admiral; and in this case the lieutenants cannot do any grace to the convicts, for in this case they shall not make any fine.

Item, It was ordained at Hastings by King Edward the First and his lords, that, whereas divers lords had divers franchises to hold pleas in ports, that their stewards or bailiffs should not hold any plea if it touch merchant or mariner, as well by deed as by charter of ships, obligations, and other deeds, unless the sum amount to 20*s.* or 40*s.* And if any one be indicted that he has done contrary, and be convicted thereof, he shall have the same judgment as above is said.

Item, Every contract made between merchant and merchant, or merchant and mariner, beyond sea or within the flood-mark, shall be proclaimed before the Admiral and not elsewhere, by ordinance of the said King and his lords.

Item, Those who are indicted that they hold before them hue and cry, or bloodshed committed in salt water or within the flood-mark, if they are convicted thereof, they shall be imprisoned for two years, and then they shall make fine at the pleasure of the King or the Admiral.

Item, Be it inquired concerning all merchants and mariners who go out of ports to ships laden with merchandise, when the said ships would enter into the same ports, and buy merchandises in gross, and

* Cited by Prynne (p. 108) from the Black Book of the Admiralty, pp. 28, 29, 157, 158.

bring them into the ports and then sell them at a dearer market and higher price than the first merchants would have done, to the grievance of the common people. If any one be indicted of this case and convicted by twelve, he shall be imprisoned for half a year, and shall then make fine for as much as the goods so bought amount to; but if the said ship remains her time, and any one buy the merchandise in this manner, he shall be in nowise hindered therefrom, and shall lose nothing to the King.

Item, Concerning those who buy in gross corn, salt or fresh fish, or other provisions within the flood-mark, in regrating, &c., they shall have the same judgment.

Item, Be it inquired concerning the wardens of ports and water-bailiffs who levy new customs and take outrageous customs and amerciaments, whereby merchants and mariners withdraw themselves from the country, and come not thither with their merchandise. If any warden of a port or water-bailiff be indicted for that he has levied new customs for his own profit, or for the profit of his lord, and be convicted thereof, he shall be imprisoned for half a year, and shall restore to the King as much as he has received, if it be to his profit; and if it be for the profit of his lord, he shall be imprisoned for half a year, and the lord shall make fine to the King or to the Admiral. And whereas the people of England and merchants have a mystery[a] to sell their merchandises for their victuals and for their necessaries, and the wardens of ports would take customs of all the merchandise which was in the said ship, and say that the merchants had broken bulk of the ship, whereby many merchants eschew to sell their merchandises, to the grievous damage of the people; whereupon King John caused the Admirals of the North and West and many others of his council to assemble, and ordained that no merchant should pay custom for merchandises which were not sold, but of those which were sold as they were landed. And if any bailiff do the contrary, he shall have imprisonment for half a year, and be ousted from his office for ever, and shall make fine to the King of so much as he shall have wrongfully taken.

Item, It was there ordained that one manner of custom should be taken throughout the whole realm of England in the water. And the Admirals were firmly charged therewith, that they or their lieutenants two or three times in the year should inquire thereof formally, so that no alien or native merchant be endamaged by reason of the customs,

[a] "ont mystère."

and that "coillage" be not paid by the coast of England, but anchorage; and this, for a ship which exceeds fifty tons, 4*d.*; and if it be laden with less than fifty tons, it shall pay no more than 2*d.*

Item, Be it inquired of those who appropriate to themselves salt water, to the disherison of the King, and take the issue thereof, and raise fisheries in salt water, found weirs, kiddels, and other necessaries not moveable, and thereby make their demesne profit of their separate waters, whereas salt water ought to be common. If any man be indicted that he encroaches upon the salt water, and for his own use takes the issues and profits of the same, if he be one who holds by baronage of the King or other dignity, process shall issue against him, as is ordained by King John in the ordinance of Hastings. And if he do not hold of the King nor dignity of Holy church, the capias shall issue against him. And if he be attainted thereof, he shall make heavy fine to the King for the issues and profits, which fine shall be made by the High Admiral.

Item, If any man be indicted that he has raised "estanks," weirs, or kiddels not moveable, they shall be abated by the sheriff. But such thing shall not be done without the presence of the High Admiral, or by especial commission made to his lieutenants. And in such case the Admiral shall inquire how long those "estanks," weirs, and kiddels have been there, and what profit they have made in the same time to the lord, and so much the lord shall pay to the King "nient contresseant," and if he be convicted thereof, if he have not the King's grace, the fishery shall be proclaimed common to all people.

Item, Be it inquired concerning those who take forfeitures of things stolen at sea for their advantage or that of others. If any steward or bailiff or other minister of any lord be indicted, that he has taken such forfeitures of things stolen at sea for the use of his lord, and be convicted thereof, he shall restore to the King the forfeitures, and if he have not means to do so, the indicted shall suffer imprisonment for three years, if he have not the grace of the King or the High Admiral; and the lord shall make fine to the King, and pay also to the King the forfeitures, and in this case he shall not have "frank" allowed.[a]

Item, Be it inquired concerning all those who buy corn, fish, or other victuals in a ship by regrating before they have come to the proper market. If any one be indicted and convicted thereof by

[a] Lansdowne MSS. 318, "il n'ad franke allowé; "frank" is written "fijke" in Mr. Croker's MS.

twelve, he shall be heavily punished, and shall make fine to the King of as much as the value of the corn or fish so bought.

Item, Be it inquired concerning all those who use undue bushels in a ship to measure corn, salt, &c. in a ship; that is to say, if the bushel be not one pottle larger than the standard of the land, and any one be convicted thereof by twelve, he shall be heavily amerced according to the discretion of the Admiral, and then the said bushel shall be "arez."

Item, Be it inquired concerning all those who weigh any merchandises in a ship by weight not in accordance with the standard. If any one be convicted thereof by twelve, he shall have the judgment above said.

Item, Be it inquired concerning all those who claim to have wreck on the sea-coasts, and have it not by any charter or prescription. If any one be indicted and convicted thereof by twelve, he shall pay to the double that which he has received for such wreck.

Item, Concerning all those who maintain any mills on salt water, and "les crines" of the said mills collect to them stones, sand, or earth, for which cause the port near them shall be damaged or on the point of being ruined. If any one be indicted and convicted thereof by twelve, the mandate of the Admiral or the sheriff shall issue by virtue of the obedience which he owes to the Admiral to abate such mills; and the owner of such mills shall make fine to the King.

Item, Be it inquired concerning all those who implead any merchant, mariner, or other person whatsoever at the common law of the land for a matter belonging to the marine law of ancient right. And if any one be indicted and convicted thereof by twelve, he shall make fine to the King for his undue suit and vexation, and shall, moreover, withdraw his suit from the common law, and carry it to the Admiral's court if he will pursue it, &c.

Item, Be it inquired concerning those who find at sea tuns or pipes of wine floating, bales of merchandise, or other things whatsoever, as flotesam, that is to say, when the sea has greater mastery than the land, and they conceal it from the possession of the Admiral. If any one be indicted and convicted thereof by twelve, he shall pay the value of what he has so found, and moreover make fine to the King according to the discretion of the Admiral. And in like manner concerning things found at the bottom of the sea, as iron, lead, anchors, gold, silver, or other thing of weight whatsoever, as lagan, he shall have the same judgment. And also concerning all manner of vessels,

waifs, found at sea withoût any men in them, &c., they shall have the same judgment.

Item, Be it inquired concerning all those who take any deodands, except only the Admiral, &c., as gold, silver, jewels, or other things of value found upon a man killed at sea, drowned at sea, or with the mast of the ship, or yard of the ship, or anchor, which is the cause of any man's death: it belongs to the Admiral to take and administer for the soul of the deceased the moiety, &c.; and the other moiety to be given to the widow of the deceased, his children, brothers, or sisters, if he have any; and if any one be indicted and convicted by twelve of the taking and concealment of such deodands, he shall pay the value of so much as he has so taken to the Admiral, and moreover make fine to the King, &c.

Item, Be it inquired concerning all manner of carpenters of ships working in ships, who take outrageous wages, from which cause the shipping is greatly enfeebled. If any one be indicted and convicted thereof by twelve, he shall be amerced according to the discretion of the Admiral.

Item, Be it inquired concerning all those who carry corn to parts beyond sea without special license, except to Bayonne, Bordeaux, Brest, and Calais, &c. And if any one be indicted and convicted thereof by twelve, he shall make fine to the King of the value of the same corn, to keep and save the customs of the King.

V.

LETTER FROM KING EDWARD THE THIRD TO EDWARD DUKE OF CORNWALL, DATED ON THE 28TH OF JUNE 1340, ANNOUNCING THE BATTLE OF SLUYS.

[From the Archives of the City of London, Register "F." folio 39. Referred to in p. 62.]

NOTA DE BELLO AQUATICO:—

Lr̃a Dn̄i R. direct̃ Filio suo Duci Cornuᵬ de Bello sup Mare pcusso die Nativit̃ Sc̃i Joh̄is Bapt̃.

Tresch̄ fitz no⁹ pensoms bien q̃ vo⁹ estes desirous assavoir bones novelles de no⁹ et coment il no⁹ est avenuz puys nr̃e aler Dengleṫre si vo⁹ fesom savoir q̃ le Joedi aṗs ceo q̃ no⁹

deptimes du port Dorewell no^{9} siglames tut le jour et la nuyt suaunte et le Vendredi en tour hour de noune no^{9} venismes s^{r} la costere de Fflaundres devant Blankebergh ou no^{9} avioms la vewe de la fflote de nos enemys qi estoyent tut amassez ensemble en port del Swyne et p^{r} ceo q̃ la tyde nestoit mie adonqes p^{r} assembler a eux no^{9} yherbergeasmes tut cel noet le Samady le jour de Seint Johan bien aꝑs houre de noune a la tyde nous en noun de Dieu et en espoire de nr̃e droite querele entrames en dit port s^{r} nos ditz enemys qi avoyent assemble lours niefs en moult fort array et lesqũx fesoient mlt noble defens tut cel jour et la noet aꝑs mes Dieu p sa puissaunce et miracle no^{9} ottroia la victorie de mesmes noz enemys de qai no^{9} m̂cioms si devoutement come no^{9} poems. Et si vo^{9} fesoms savoir q̃ le nombre des niefs galeyes et g^{a}nt barges de nos enemys amounta a IX^{xx}· et ditz lessqueles estoient toutz pris sauve XXIIII. en tut lesqueles senfuirent et les uns sont puys pris s^{r} mier et le nombre des gentz darmes et autres gentz armez amounta a xxxv. mill de quele nombre p esme· cink M^{l}. sont eschapees et la remenaunt ensi come no^{9} est done a entendre p ascuns gents q̃ sont pris en vie si gisent les corps mortz et tut pleyn de lieux s^{r} la costere de Fflaundres. Dautre pt totes nos niefs, cest assavoir Cristofr̃e et les autres qi estoient pdues a Middelburgh̃ sont ore regaignez et il yount gaignez en ceste navie trois ou quatre auxi graundes come la Cristofre. Les Fflemengs estoient de bone volente davoir venuz a no^{9} ala bataille du comencement tanqe ala fin issint Dieu nr̃e Seign^{r} ad assez de grace monstre de qeĩ no^{9} et toutz noz amys sumes tut ditz tenutz de lui rendre grace et m̂ciz. Nr̃e entent est ademorer^{r} en pees en le ewe taunt qe no^{9} eoms pris ĉteyn point ove noz alliez et autres nos amys de Fflandres de ceo q̃ soit affaire. Trescher fitz Dieu soit gardeyn de vo^{9}.

Don souz nr̃e secree seal en nr̃e nief Cogg Thom̃ le Mescredy en la veille Seint Piere et Seint Paoul. 14. R. Edw. 3^{ti}.

It was hoped that the obscurity of the passage respecting the Flemings in this letter (vide 51, *ante*) might have been

removed by referring to the grant of extraordinary privileges which Edward the Third made to the inhabitants of Ghent, Bruges, Ipres, and Flanders, towards the end of the year 1340, as it was possible that the King might have stated that the services of the Flemings at Sluys had induced him to confer those privileges upon them. The grant does not, however, mention the battle, but merely recites that it was made "pour les tres grand loialte bountee obbeissauntz et service que nos avoms de ceo en les habitauntz des bones villes Gaunt Bruges et Ipre de comun pays de Flaundres et eynz purront a trover en temps avenir et pour ascunes certeynes premesses que les ditz habitauntz nous ount faites dount nous avoms lours lettres seales."[a]

VI.

"LE HOURE DE NOUNE."

[Referred to in page 55.]

It must seem extraordinary, that, although King Edward the Third in his dispatch expressly states the hour when the battle of Sluys began, yet that there should be so much difficulty in ascertaining the precise time, that it has been made the subject of controversy.[b] Edward says he arrived off Blankenberg on Friday the 23rd of June, about the "*houre de noune,*" and attacked the enemy the next day, soon after the "*houre de noune, à la tide;*" and the question is, did he mean by "noune" the canonical hour of "nones," (*i. e.* from 2 to 3 P. M. until vespers, *i. e.* about 4 o'clock in the afternoon,) which would agree with Hemingford, who states that the battle began shortly before vespers; or did he use the English word "noon," as he used the English word "tide," and which would agree with the time of high water on that day? It is not likely that the King meant, as has been suggested, nine in the morning, though Froissart says the engagement began at the hour of prime (from 6 to 9 A. M.), and lasted until high noon (3 P. M.), for the flood did not begin to make until about eight o'clock, and at nine there would not have been water enough to enter the port. Edward, moreover, says the fight lasted "*all the day and the night after,*" so

[a] Archives of the City of London, Register F. f. 35.

[b] Review of the "Life of Edward the Black Prince," by G. P. R. James, Esq., in the "Athenæum," in 1836, and Mr. James' observations in reply.

that Froissart's account of its termination, if not of its commencement, is certainly erroneous.

Though "hora nona," when, according to Knyghton, the battle began, is usually supposed to mean from 2 or 3 until about 4 P. M., there are many reasons for believing that both "hora nona" and "noune" meant *mid-day*.

The expressions "*noun*," "*nona*," and "*hora nona*" so often occur, that it is important for historical accuracy to endeavour to fix their exact meaning. Though ecclesiastics, by whom, indeed, almost everything was written before the fifteenth century, sometimes used the canonical hours, they seem more generally, and especially in records, to have computed the hours from "noon," *i. e.* from mid-day. This appears from the fact, that, in the following instances, the canonical hours of "prime," "tierce," "sext," "vespers," "compline," &c. rarely occur, but which would often have marked the time indicated by seven, eight, ten, eleven, &c., *before or after noon*, had the writers been using the hours of the services of the Church. There is no greater reason why they should have generally adopted the canonical hour of "nones" than any other of the canonical hours; but, if they meant by it the great division of the day, its constant recurrence is explained. The principal difficulty is, however, to distinguish when they meant nine o'clock, but they probably indicated it by "horam diei nonam,"[a] or by "hora nona ante nonam."

King Edward the Third is recorded to have died on Sunday the 21st of June 1377, "*circa horam septimam post horam nonam.*" (Fœdera, VII. 151.)

On Monday next after the Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, 1380, "*circa hora undecimam,*" the King delivered the Great Seal to the Archbishop of Canterbury. (Ibid. VII. 233.)

On Saturday the Feast of St. Lawrence, 1381, "*post horam nonam,*" the King delivered the Great Seal to William Bishop of London; and the said bishop on the Sunday following, "*circa horam primam,*" sealed charters therewith. (Ibid. VII. 310.)

On the 27th of September 1391, "*circa horam tertiam post nonam,*" the King delivered the Great Seal to the Archbishop of York; and afterwards, "*circa horam octavam illius diei,*" the seal was used, &c. (Ibid. VII. 707.)

On the 25th of March 1393 the King commanded the Archbishop of York to deliver up the Great Seal; and on the 27th of March the seal was used until "*diei Sabbati, proximo ante Festum Sancti Georgii*

[a] Elmham, p. 80. Vide p. 420, *ante*.

Martiris tunc proximo sequens, horam sextam," on which day, "*circa horam quartam post nonam,*" the seal was delivered to the chancellor. (Fœdera, VII. 742.)

On the 27th of September 1396 the Archbishop of York delivered up the Great Seal, "*quasi circa horam octavam post nonam illius diei.*" (Ibid. VII. 840.)

In 1407 John Earl of Somerset arrived at Calais from Portsmouth, "*circa horam tertiam post nonam.*" (Anon. Chron. in the Addit. MS. 1776, fol. 47. b.)

On the 23rd of July 1417, "*inter secundam et tertiam horam post nonam,*" the King delivered the Great Seal to the Bishop of Durham. (Fœdera, IX. 472.)

On the 4th of September 1416, the King, "*circa horam ejusdem diei decimam ante nonam,*" commanded the chancellor to deliver the Great Seal to John Mapilton, clerk; and afterwards the said chancellor sealed a certain charter therewith, "*circa horam illius diei primam post nonam.*" (Ibid. IX. 385.)

In all these instances "*nona*" appears to have indicated "*noon;*" and the following examples leave no doubt that mid-day was meant: —

On the 13th of October 1377, "*bien entour l'eure de noune,*" the King adjourned the Parliament. (Rot. Parl. III. 3.)

The Monk of St. Denys (III. 105) states that an engagement off St. Matthew in 1402 lasted "ab hora diei tercia *usque ad nonam;*" and Des Ursins (p. 156), speaking of the same affair, and apparently copying the Monk, says, "La bataille dura depuis un grand matin *jusques a midy.*"

On Wednesday the 28th of April 1406 the King wrote to the Council: "Savoir vous faisons que apres la faisance de noz autres lettres yce jour *devant noone* escriptes et a vous envoiees," &c. (Proc. Privy Council, I. 290.)

By statute 4 Hen. V. c. 14, it was ordained that "no labourer be retained to work by the week, nor that no labourers, carpenters, &c. shall take any hire for the holidays, nor for the evens of feasts, *where they do not labour but till the hour of noon, but only for the half day*" ("ou ils ne laborent *forsque al heure de None,* sinon pour demy jour.")

Dinner was sometimes used as a date, and on the first occasion on which this occurs, "hora nona" may have meant either nine o'clock or noon, but more likely noon; and it certainly did not mean the canonical hour of "nones," because people did not then dine late in the day.

On the 13th of June 1327 the Great Seal was delivered to the Bishop of London, at Canterbury, by Master Henry Clyff, "hora nona," and on the same day, "post prandium," it was given back to the said Clyff. (Fœdera, II. 765.)

On the 9th of March 1401 the Great Seal was delivered up to the King, "*circa horam decimam ante prandium;*" and the next day, "*circa horam primam,*" the seal was taken out of the bag, &c. (Ibid. VIII. 181.)

On the 21st of December 1409 the King delivered the Great Seal to John Wakering, clerk, "*circa horam quintam post prandium.*" (Ibid. VIII. 616.)

Of Froissart's mode of computing time, St. Palaye,[a] as well as other authorities,[b] observe, "With regard to the hours of the day, he gives them a division, of which some examples, but in a small number, are seen in our antient authors, and to which he very particularly attaches himself. He divides them according to the canonical hours of *prime, tierce, none,* and *vêpres,* because, perhaps, he was in the ecclesiastical line himself. I observe that he has not any where made use of the word *sexte.* What he means by *prime* was the morning, the first hour of the day, or the hour which followed next after daybreak. Tierce seems to me to mark the intermediate time between the morning and mid-day, which he expresses either by the word 'mid-day,' or by that of *none.* Afterwards comes *vêpre,* or *la vêprée:* it was, as the word points out, the end of the day; after which was reckoned midnight. Sometimes he adds to these words of *prime, tierce, none, vêpres,* the epithet of *basse,* to mark that the time of these hours was near closing;[c] and sometimes the word *haute,* which in some instances appears to have the same signification, and at others quite the contrary."

Ducange throws no light on the subject. Spelman says, "*Nona :* Meridies: Tempus prandii.—In antiquis maneriorum membranis, *nona* crebro usu venit pro *meridie,* quæ inde Anglicè appellatur NONE et NONE-TIDE, quod Saxonicè tamen expressè sonat *horam nonam;* id est pomeridianam tertiam, non meridiem. Ratio a Romanorum cœna ducta est, quæ hora diei *nona* fuit; nec solenniter antea comedebant. Quod enim prandium dicitur levius parciusque sumebatur circa meridiem, unde et nomen; nam ἔνδιον, authorè Plu-

[a] St. Palaye's Memoirs of Froissart, translated by Johnes.

[b] M. Buchon.

[c] Edward the Third is said to have arrived at Westminster from France, on the 18th of May, 1360, at the hour of low noon, "*quasi bassa hora nona.*" Fœdera, VI. 196.

tarcho in Symposiacis, tempus meridianum significat. Et quod postea jentaculum dictum est, olim prandium appellabatur. Clerici etiam ante horam diei tertiam non iniebant convivia."[a]

Hours of the *clock* are mentioned as early as the reign of Richard the Second. On the 8th of March 1390, it was agreed that the lords of the King's council should meet "parentre oyt et noef de la clokke au plustard."[b] Some early English chroniclers speak of "hours of the *bell*."

VII.

ROLL OF CALAIS.

[Referred to in page 95.]

Though no contemporary copy of the ROLL OF CALAIS has been discovered, yet, as that document is often mentioned, it is proper to insert so much of it as relates to Shipping from the Cottonian MS. Titus E. III. f. 262, which seems the best of the existing transcripts; but it is manifestly incorrect in many of the names of places, nor has a collation with the copies in the Harleian MSS., 78 and 246, improved it.

THE SOUTH FLEET.

	SHIPS.	MARINERS.
The King	25	419
London	25	662
Aylesford	2	24
Ho	2	24
Maydestone	2	51
Hoope	2	40
Newsithe	5	19
Margate	15	160
Motme or Moeme	2	23
Feversham	2	23
Sandwich	22	504
Dover	16	336
Wight	13	220
Winchelsey	21	596

[a] Glossarium, *in voce*.

[b] Proceedings of the Privy Council, vol. I. p. 18[a].

	SHIPS.	MARINERS.
Weymouth	20	264
Lyme	4	62
Seton.	2	25
Sidmouth	3	62
Exmouth	10	193
Teymouth	7	120
Dertmouth	31	757
Portmouth	5	96
Plimouth	26	603
Loo	20	325
Yalie	2	48
Fowey	47	770
Bristoll	24	608
Tynmuth	2	25
Hastinge.	5	96
Romney	4	75
Rie	9	156
Hith	6	112
Shoram	20	328
Seforth	5	80
Newmouth	2	18
Hamilhoke	7	117
Hook	11	208
Southampton	21	576
Lemington	9	159
Pole	4	94
Warrūm	3	59
Swynsey	1	29
Ithercomb	6	79
Patrickstowe	2	17
Pollrewam	1	60
Wadworth	1	14
Hendess	1	51
Bridgwater	1	15
Karmerthen	1	16
Calchworth.	1	12
Molbrok	1	12
Sum total of the South Fleet, viz.	493	9630

THE NORTH FLEET.

	SHIPS.	MARINERS.
Bamborough	1	9
Newcastle	17	414
Walkrich	1	12
Hartilpole	5	145
Hull	16	466
Yorke	1	9
Ravenser	1	28
Woodhouse	1	12
Strotchhithe	1	10
Barton	3	30
Swynflete	1	11
Saltflete	2	49
Grynsbie	11	171
Waynflete	2	44
Wrangle	1	8
Lenne	19	482
Blakney	2	38
Scarburgh	1	19
Yarmouth	43	1905
Donwiche	6	102
Orforth	3	62
Gofforrde	13	404
Harwich	14	283
Ipswich	12	239
Merten	1	6
Broughtlyngsey	5	61
Colchester	5	170
Whitbanes	1	17
Derwen	1	15
Boston	17	361
Swynehumber	1	32
Mallden	2	32
Barton	5	61
Sum total of the North Fleet	217	4521
The sum of the English Fleet	700	14,151

STRANGERS.

	SHIPS.	MARINERS.
Bayon	15	439
Spaine	7	184
Ireland	1	25
Flanders	14	133
Geltderland	1	24
Sum of the Strangers' Fleet	38	805
Sum total of the whole Fleet	738	14,956

VIII.

A LIST OF THE SHIPS CAPTURED AND BURNT BY THE SPANIARDS IN THE BAY, IN BRITTANY, ON THE 10TH OF AUGUST, 49 EDWARD III., 1375.

[State Papers, Tower, No. 963. x. E. Referred to in page 153.]

Cez sont lez niefs d'Engleꝛre q'estoient prisez ꝑ les gentz et galeys du Bastarde d'Espaigne et arsez en la Bay en Bretaigne ove leur marchandie enpres les treuwes jurez ꝑ entre les deux Roys ꝑ les seign^rs de l'un et de l'autre ꝑtie.

Del Admiraute de South et Weste.

Prim̃ une nief appelle le Xp̃ofre d'Exmouth de portage du ccc. toneux dont Roƀt Wykford seign^r qe vaut ove l'entier appaile aure argent ⁊ autres marchandisez ⁊ vitaillez prisez en icelle ꝑ verrai proef ⁊ examinac̃on fait amont sanz ꝑdes des marim̃s M.D.C. $\overset{xx}{\text{iiii}}$. XV. ƚi. d'esterlingg^es.

La nief appelle le Nicholas de Lymyngton̄ du portage CXL. toneux dont Henr̃ Redyng̃ est seigno^r qe vaut ove le appaile argent ⁊ autres choses prisez en icelle D.CC. ƚi. d'esꝛlinges.

La Gabriell de Bristuyt du portage de CCXV. toneux dont Richard Spicere seigno^r q̃ vaut ove le appaille argent ⁊ autres chosez prisez en icelle M^l. ⁊ C. ƚi. d'esꝛlinges.

La Kaꝛine de Bristuyt du portage de LXXIIII. toneux dont

Johan Hakestoñ seignour qe vaut ove lappaile monoy ꝛ autrez biens prisez en ycelle cccc.v. li. desterlinges.

La Gracedieu de Dertemuth du portag̃ de c$^{xx}_{iiii}$. toneux dont seignour William Gorewet et Thomas Asshelden̄ qe vaut ove l'appaille ꝛ autres biens en icelle d.c. $^{xx}_{iiii}$. li. desterlinges.

La Sainte Marie cogge de Dunster du portage lxxv. toneux dont Johan Carꝛ seignr. que vaut ove l'appaille et autres bienz prisez en icelle cc.lx. xv. li. d'esterlinges.

La Trinite de Fowy du portage de l. toneuz dont Richard Mighelstowe seignour qe vaut ove l'appaille ꝛ autres bienz prisez en icelle cc.liii. li. d'esterlinges.

La Trinite de Bristuyt du portag̃ $^{xx}_{vi}$. toneux dont Johan Dodynge ꝛ Thomas Clerc seignours qe vaut ove lappaille ꝛ autres bienz prisez en icelle d.cc.xxx. li. d'esterling̃.

La Alhalwen cogge de Weymouth du portage c. toneux dont Philip̃ Palmer seignr ꝛ la Margarete de Weymouthe dont Johan Isle seignr q̃ vaillent ove l'appaille et monoy et autres biens en icelle prisez m^{l}. m^{a}r̄c d'esterlinges.

La cogge Johan de Plomouth du portag̃ $^{xx}_{vii}$.x. toneux dont Johan Sampsoñ seignr qe vaut ove l'appaille ꝛ autres biens prises en icelle d.$^{xx}_{iiii}$. x. li. desterlinges.

La Trinite de Tynby du portage $^{xx}_{iiii}$. toneux dont Johan Wylkyns seignr qe vaut ove lappaille et autres biens prisez en icelle cc.xl. li. d'esterlinges.

La Saint Mari coge de Bruggwauter du portage clxx. toneux dont Johe Cole et William Criche seignrs qe vaut ove l'appaille ꝛ autres biens prises en icelle d.ccc.x. li. d'esterlinges.

La James de Bristuyt du portage clxx. toneux dont Wauꝛ Frompton̄ ꝛ Elys Spelly seignurs qe vaut ove l'appaille ꝛ autres biens prisez en ycelle d.ccc.xl. li. desterlingꝛ.

La Jonet de Weymouth du portag̃ xxxvi. toneuz dont Wauꝛ Lanthous seignr qe vaut ove l'appaille ꝛ autres biens prisez en icelle xl. li. d'esterlinges.

La barge appelle Margarete de Bristuyt del portag̃ $^{xx}_{iiii}$. toneux dont Johan Sloo seignour qe vaut ove l'appaile ꝛ autres biens prisez en icelle ccxl. li. d'esterlinges.

La Gracedieu de Bristuyt du portag̃ cc. toneuz dont

Wauꝰ Derby seignour qe vaut ove l'appaille ⁊ autres biens prisez en icelle M^{l}. ⁊ xx. ꝉi. desꝰlinges.

La Xp̃ofre de Southampton̄ du portage $\overset{xx}{ix}$. toneux dont Johan Pulmonde seignour qe vaut ove lappaille ⁊ autres biens prisez en icelle M^{l}.D.C.$\overset{xx}{iiii}$.X. ꝉi. d'est̃.

La Gabrielle de Southampton̄ du portage CXX. toneux dont William Bacoun seign^{r} q̃ vaut ove l'appaille ⁊ autres biens prisez en icelle D.CC. ꝉi. d'esꝰlinges.

La Saint Marie de Hampton̄ du portage de $\overset{xx}{vi}$. toneux dont William Browne seignour qe vaut ove lappaille et autres biens prises en icelle D.CC. ꝉi. desterlinges.

La Mighell de Hampton̄ du portage LX. toneux dont Johan Florentyn seignour qe vaut ove lappaille ⁊ autres biens prisez en icelle CCLX. ꝉi.

Del Admiraute de Northꝫ.

La Magdaleyn de Gippeswiche du portage CL. toneux dont Geffray Sterlyng̃ seignour qe vaut ove l'appaille et autres bienz prisez en icelle CCCC.LIII. ꝉi. VI. s̃. VIII. đ. sꝰling̃.

La Marie de Gippeswich du portag̃ de C. toneux dont Geffray Sterlyng̃ seignour qe vaut ove l'appaille et autres bienz prisez en icelle CC.XXXIII. ꝉi. VI. s̃. VIII. đ. sꝰling̃.

La Trinite de Gippeswichꝫ du portag̃ C. toneux dont Richard Averlonđ seignour qe vaut ove lappaille ⁊ autres bienz prisez en icelle CCC. ꝉi. desꝰlinges.

La Saint Mary bot̃ de Bradfelđ du portag̃ C. toneux dont Johan Aleyn seignour qe vaut ove appaille ⁊ autres biens prisez en icelle CC.XX. ꝉi. d'esterlinges.

La Nicholas de Jernemouthe du portag̃ CX. toneux dont Symond Cappe seignour qe vaut ove l'appaile ⁊ autres biens prisez en icelle CC.$\overset{xx}{iiii}$. XIII. ꝉi. VI. s̃. VIII. đ. sꝰ.

La barge appelle Nicholas de Jernemuth du portag̃ C. toneux dont Hugħg Fastolf seignour qe vaut ove l'appaille ⁊ autres bienz prisez en icelle CCC$\overset{xx}{iiii}$. ꝉi. desterꝉ.

La Berthelmewe de Jernem̄ du portag̃ $\overset{xx}{iiii}$. toneux dont Barthu Nogan seign^{r} et vaut ove l'appaille ⁊ autres bienz prisez en ycelle CC.XXVIIII. ꝉi. XIII. s̃. IIII. đ. sꝰꝉ.

La Margaret de Jernemouth du portag̃ LX. toneux dont

Johan Beꝟle seignr q̃ vaut ove l'appaille et autres biens prisez en icelle c.xxxii. ti. d'esterlinges.

La Garlond de Jernemouth du portag̃ de L. toneux dont Thomas Cobald seignour qe vaut ove l'appaille ꝛ autres biens en ycelle iiii.xx. x. ti. d'esterlinges.

La James de Jernemouth du portag̃ LX. toneux de vyn dont William Copyn seignour qe vaut ove l'appaille et autres biens en icelle cxxviii. ti desterlinges.

La craier Isabelle de Gymyngham appelle la James du portag̃ LX. toneux qe vaut ove lappaille et autres biens en icelle ciiii.xx. ti. desterl.

La Edward de meš Richard Stody du portage c.xl. toneux qe vaut ove l'appaille ꝛ autres biens prisez en ycelle cccc.xl. ti. desꝟl.

La Saint Mari cogge de Londres du portag̃ de viii.xx. x. toneux dont Richard Lyons seignor qe vaut ove lappaille ꝛ autres biens prisez en icelle d.c.iiii.xx. ii. ti. d'esꝟlinges.

La Jonette de Londres du portag̃ LXX. toneux dont Richard Lyons est seigneur qe vaut ove l'appaille et autres biens prises en icelle ciiii.xx. ti. d'esterl.

La nief appelle Paule de la Rye du portag̃ ccxx. toneux dont Symō Saleme seignour qe vaut ove l'appaille et les autres biens prises en icelle d.c. ti. d'esterl.

Item une nief pris ovesq; le seignour de lespre.

IX.

INDENTURES BETWEEN THE KING'S SERJEANTS-AT-ARMS AND THE MASTER OF A SHIP, AUGUST, 18 RIC. II., 1394, AND AUGUST, 22 RIC. II., 1398.

[Referred to in page 336, *ante.*]

Ceste endenture tesmoigne que Johan Michel sergeant darmes nostre Seigneur le Roi ad paiez et deliverez a Benet Chepman mestre de la nief appellee le Katerine de Loo portage de cync . . . . . nk toñ vint six souez et iiii. deniers daprest sur le voyage qil ferra et ad promis de fere procheinement [en] la compaignie de nostre tresredoutez Seigneur le Roi devers Irland. Et ad promis le dit mestre destre ove sa dite nief convenablement reparaille a la port de Bristow la veille de la Nativite de nostre Dame proschein venant. Done a

Loo le vint et treis jour en le moys Daugust lan du reigne de nostre dit tresredoutez Seigneur le Roi dyz octisme.[a]

Cest endenture fait parentre Johan Drax sergeant darmes nostre Seigneur le Roy dune part et Johan Knyth mestre de la barge appellee Eleanore de Dertemouth dautre part tesmoigne que le dit Johan Knyth ad resceu de nostre Seigneur le Roy par les mains du dit Johan Drax quatre livres xvi. s. dapprest sur les gages du dit mestre xv. mariners et i. page pur passer sur le viage de Thomas Duc de Surrey devers les parties Dirland destre prest al port de Liverpoll ou cestre al primer jour de Septembre prochein venant apres la date dicestes sur peine qappent. En tesmoignance de quel chose les parties avaunt ditz a icestes endentures entrechangeablement ont mys lour sealx. Don a Dertemouth le viii. jour Daust lan nostre Seigneur le Roy Richard Second vint et secound.[b]

X.

LIST OF THE ROYAL NAVY IN 1417.

LETTERS MISSIVE TEMP. HENRY V. IN THE TOWER.

[[b] Referred to in page 435, *ante*.]

" Au Revend pere en Dieu l'Evesque de Duresme nre Chanceller d'Angleterre."

" By the Kyng.

" Worshipful fader yn God, we sende yow closed wipin þis tre a cedule contenyng þe names of certein maistres for owr owne grete shippes, carrakes, barges, and balyngers, to þe whiche maistres we have granted annuitees, suche as is appointed upon eche of hem in þe same cedule to take yerely of owre grante, while þat us lust, at owr Eschequer of Westm' att þe termes of Michelmasse and Ester by even portions. Wherfore we wol and charge yow þat unto eche of þe said maistres ye do make under owr grete seel, beyng in yowre warde, owr tres patentes sevales en forme after þ effect and purport of owr said grante. Yeven under owr signet atte owr Castel of Tonque þe xij. day of Aoust [1417].[c]

[a] Roll " T. G. 11,072," at Carlton Ride.

[b] Roll, " T. G. 10,979," at Carlton Ride.

[c] Letters Missive, Hen. V. at the Tower.

vi$^{li.}$ xiij$^{s.}$ iiij$^{d.}$	La grande Nief appellee I'hc, dont John William est maistre . . .		vi. marin's.
		po^{r} la sauf garde	deinz Hannill.
vi$^{li.}$ xiij$^{s.}$ iiij$^{d.}$	La Trinite Roiale, dont Steph. Thomas est maistre		vi. marin's.
vi$^{li.}$ xiij$^{s.}$ iiij$^{d.}$	La Holygost, dont Jordan Brownyng est maistre		vi. marin's.
vi$^{li.}$ xiij$^{s.}$ iiij$^{e.}$	La Carrake appellee le Petre, dont John Gerard est maistre . . .		vi. marin's.
vi$^{li.}$ xiij$^{s.}$ iiij$^{d.}$	La Carrak appellee le Paule, dont William Payne est maistr' . .		vi. marin's.
vi$^{li.}$ xiij$^{s.}$ iiij$^{d.}$	La Carrak appellee le Andrewe, dont John Thornyng est maistr' . .		vi. marin's.
vi$^{li.}$ xiij$^{s.}$ iiij$^{d.}$	La Carrak appellee le Xp'ofre, dont . . . Tendrell est maistr' . .		vi. marin's.
vi$^{li.}$ xiij$^{s.}$ iiij$^{d.}$	La Carrak appellee le Marie, dont William Richeman est maistr' . .		vi. marin's.
vi$^{li.}$ xiij$^{s.}$ iiij$^{d.}$	La Carrak appellee le Marie, dont William Hethe est maistre . .		vi. marin's.
vi$^{li.}$ xiij$^{s.}$ iiij$^{d.}$	La Carrak appellee le George, dont John Mersh est maistr' . . .		vi. marin's.
	La Carrak appellee le Agns, dont . . . est maistr'		ij.
c$^{s.}$	La Nief appellee Nicholas, dont William Robynson est maistr' . .		iij.
c$^{s.}$	La Nief appellee la Kat'yne, dont John Kyngeston est maistr' . .		iij.
c$^{s.}$	La Nief appellee la Marie, dont Ric. Walsh est maistre		iij.
c$^{s.}$	La Nief appellee le Flaward, dont Thomas Martyn est maistr' . .		iij.
c$^{s.}$	La Nief appellee le Marie, dont William Cheke est maistre . . .		iij.
c$^{s.}$	La Nief appellee le Xp'ofre, dont William Yalton est maistre . .		iij.
lxvj$^{s.}$ viij$^{b.}$	La Barge appellee la Petite Trinite, dont John Piers est maistr' .		ij.
lxvj$^{s.}$ viij$^{e.}$	La Balynger appellee le Ane, dont Rauf Hoskard est maistr' . . .		iij.
lxvj$^{s.}$ viij$^{e.}$	La Balynger appellee le Nicholas, dont Robert Shad est maistr' . .		iij.
lxvj$^{s.}$ viij$^{d.}$	La Balynger appellee le George, dont Edward Hoper est maistre . .		iij.
lxvj$^{s.}$ viij$^{e.}$	La Balynger appellee le Crachere, dont Steph. Welles est maistr' .		iij.
lxvj$^{s.}$ viij$^{e.}$	La Balynger appellee le Gabriell, dont Andrewe Godefrey est maistr' .		iij.
lxvj$^{s.}$ viij$^{d.}$	La Balynger appellee le Letill John, dont John Bull est maistr' . .		ij.
	La Balynger appellee le James, dont Janyn Cossard est maistr' po^{r} le Holigost		ij.
	La Balyng'e appellee le Swan, dont . . . Rowe est ma' po^{r} la Trinite . .		ij.
lxvi$^{s.}$ viij$^{e.}$	La Balyngere appellee le Kat'yne, dont Janyn Dene est maistr' . .		ij.

XI.

REFERENCES TO NAVAL ACCOUNTS IN THE REIGNS OF RICHARD THE SECOND, HENRY THE FOURTH, AND HENRY THE FIFTH.

The Naval Accounts from the 1st Ric. II., 1377, to the 22nd Ric. II., 1399, which have been consulted, are on the Rolls at Carlton Ride marked

"T. G. 2850;" "C. A. 218;" "F. L. H. 1543;" "T. G. 23,033;" "J. P. R. 6868;" "E. B. 2536;" "J. P. R. 2804;" "T. G. 1919;" "T. G. 22,402;" "J. P. R. 8299;" "W. N. 1412;" most of which are undated, but probably belong to that reign, and also on those marked "H. C. H. 1456;" "T. G. 1217;" "W. N. 5292;" "T. G. 1911;" "T. G. 1164;" "J. P. R. 9949;" "F. L. H. 1345;" "W. N. 1250;" "T. G. 1865;" "T. G. 1157;" "T. G. 1233;" "T. G. 1835;" "J. P. R. 2510;" "J. P. R. 6725;" "T. G. 22,089;" "H. C. H. 1514;" "T. G. 11,779;" "J. P. R. 7041;" "E. B. 1487;" "J. P. R. 117;" "T. G. 15,410;" "E. B. 268;" "E. B. 1262;" "T. G. 23,196;" "J. P. R. 6995;" "T. G. 14,234;" "T. G. 3242;" "J. P. R. 6144;" "J. P. R. 6666;" "T. G. 11,072;" "J. P. R. 6752;" "T. G. 1187;" "T. G. 3343;" "F. L. H. 865;" "T. G. 2141;" "T. G. 22,177;" "W. N. 656;" and "T. G. 10,979."

The Naval Accounts for the reign of Henry the Fourth from 1399 to 1413 are on the Rolls marked

"E. B. 1621;" "W. N. 1441;" "C. A. 356;" "J. E. G. 9579;" "W. N. 1451;" "W. N. 1444;" "C. A. 427;" "C. A. 434;" "T. G. 11,769;" "H. C. H. 1469;" "E. B. 1453;" "J. E. G. 9294;" and "T. G. 12,160."

The Naval Accounts for the reign of Henry the Fifth, from 1st Hen. V., 1413, to 9th Hen. V., 1422, are on the Rolls marked

"J. P. R. 1231;" "T. G. 13,276;" "J. P. R. 2404;" "T. G. 13,501;" "T. G. 13,528;" "T. G. 13,531;" "T. G. 13,505;" "E. B. 1030;" "T. G. 13,313;" "E. B. 1626;" "T. G. 13,468;" "T.

G. 13,238;" "T. G. 13,432;" "T. G. 3365;" "W. N. 1595;" "J. P. R. 1184;" "J. P. R. 1166;" "T. G. 12,912;" "T. G. 13,597;" "H. C. H. 1185;" "T. G. 13,465;" "T. G. 12,930;" "T. G. 19,043;" "T. G. 15,677;" "T. G. 16,587;" "T. G. 12,920;" "H. C. H. 1539;" "J. P. R. 1175;" "T. G. 13,667;" and "T. G. 17,111."

XII.

COMMISSIONS TO ADMIRALS.

So many alterations were made in the form of the COMMISSIONS to ADMIRALS in the reign of Richard the Second, Henry the Fourth, and Henry the Fifth, that a translation of three of those documents, and extracts from the others, will be inserted.

COMMISSION TO THE EARL OF ARUNDEL, ON THE 10TH OF DECEMBER, 10 RIC. II. 1386, AS ADMIRAL OF THE NORTHERN AND WESTERN FLEETS.

The King to all and singular sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, ministers, lords, masters, and mariners of ships, and other his faithful subjects, as well within liberties as without, to whom &c., greeting.—Know ye, that we, fully confiding in the fidelity and circumspection of our beloved and faithful RICHARD EARL OF ARUNDEL, have appointed the same Earl our Admiral of the fleet of ships from the mouth of the river Thames towards the Western as well as the Northern parts during our pleasure; giving him, by the tenor of the presents, full power to hear plaints of all and singular of such matters as touch the office of Admiral, and to take cognizance of maritime causes, and to do justice, and to chastise, punish, and imprison delinquents according to their demerits, and to deliver those who shall be to be delivered, and also to assemble as many ships and small vessels of war ["naves et naviculas guerrinas"] as shall be necessary, of whatsoever burthen they may be, as often as it shall be necessary, and to select and take mariners and others necessary for those ships and small vessels, and put them therein, and duly to punish and chastise such mariners as shall be rebellious or contrary in this behalf, and do and exercise all other things which to that office of Admiral appertain, as of right and according to maritime law shall be to be done; and to

substitute and depute others whom the same Earl shall know to be fit therefor, to do all and singular the premises in his place so often as he shall not be at leisure therefore, as shall seem most expedient unto him. And therefore we command you, that unto the same Earl, his substitutes and deputies aforesaid, in doing all and singular the premises, ye be intendant, counselling, and aiding, so often and as by the same Earl, his substitutes or deputies aforesaid, ye, or any of you, shall be hereunto warned on our behalf. In testimony whereof, &c., witness the King at Westminster, the 10th day of December.

By the King himself and the Council.[a]

It has been observed, that, after the statute of the 13th and 15th Ric. II., prohibiting Admirals from interfering with matters not within their jurisdiction,[b] a clause to that effect was introduced into their Commissions. The following is a translation of the Commission issued to the Marquis of Dorset on the 9th of May, 21 Ric. II., 1398:—

COMMISSIONS TO JOHN MARQUIS OF DORSET, AS ADMIRAL OF THE NORTHERN AND WESTERN FLEETS FOR LIFE, 9TH MAY, 21 RIC. II., 1098, AND ALSO OF THE IRISH FLEET ON THE 2ND OF FEBRUARY 1398.[c]

The King to his beloved and faithful JOHN BEAUFORT, MARQUIS OF DORSET, Greeting.—Know ye, that we, fully confiding in your fidelity, industry, and provident circumspection, have appointed you our Admiral of the fleet of ships towards the West and North, for the term of your life, giving you full power, by the tenor of the presents, to hear plaints of all and singular of those matters which touch the office of Admiral, and to take cognizance of maritime causes, and to do justice, and to chastise, punish, and imprison delinquents according to their demerits, and to deliver prisoners who shall be to be delivered, and also to assemble ships and small vessels of war, as many as shall be necessary, of whatsoever burthen they may be, so often as need shall be, and to select and take mariners and others necessary for those ships and small vessels, and to place them therein, and duly to chastise and punish such mariners as shall be rebellious or disobedient therein, and to do and exercise all other matters which to the office of Admiral in this behalf appertain, as of right and according to the

[a] Rot. Franc. 10 Ric. II. m. 18.
[b] Vide pp. 330, 337, *ante*.
[c] Rot. Pat. 21 Ric. II. pt. 2. m. 23.

maritime law shall be to be done; and to substitute and depute other fit and sufficient persons, so often as you shall not be at leisure, to do all and singular the premises. And therefore we command you that you be intendant about the office aforesaid, and exercise and execute it in the form aforesaid: provided always, that you have no power, cognizance, or jurisdiction in anywise in any contracts, pleas, or plaints, or any other matters within the body of the county [a] done or arising, by land or by water, or of wreck of sea; but that all such contracts, pleas, and plaints, and other matters whatsoever, within the body of the county arising, and also wreck of sea, as is aforesaid, be discussed, determined, tried, and remedied by the common law of the land, and in no wise before or by you or your lieutenant. So, nevertheless, that you have cognizance of death of man and mayhem committed in great ships,[b] of great rivers only, from the bridges of the same rivers nighest the sea, and not being and floating in any other part of the rivers aforesaid; and also arrests of ships in great fleets for great voyages of us and our realm; and also jurisdiction of such fleets in such voyages, only saving to us the forfeitures and profits whatsoever thence arising; saving also to the lords and cities and burghs their liberties, according to the form of the statute, in our parliament at Westminster, in the 15th year of our reign, thereupon enacted. In testimony whereof, &c. Witness, the King at Westminster, the 9th day of May. By the King himself.[c]

Cancelled; because they were restored, for that the Lord King Henry the Fourth, after the Conquest, on the 8th day of May, in the 8th year of his reign, appointed Edmund Earl of Kent his Admiral of the fleet of ships towards the West and North during his pleasure; and therefore these letters were cancelled and annulled.

The King to the same greeting.—Know ye, that we, fully confiding (&c., as above), have appointed you our Admiral of the fleet of ships of our land of Ireland, for the term of your life (&c., as above). Witness, the King at Shrewsbury, the 2nd day of February.[c]

[a] "Infra corpora com'."
[b] "In medio alti fili."
[c] Pat. 21 Ric. II. pt. 3, m. 23. The patent appointing Sir Thomas Percy Admiral of Ireland on the 10th Jan. 22 Ric. II., 1399, is verbatim as above. Rot. Pat. 22 Ric. II. pt. 2, m. 16.

COMMISSION TO THOMAS EARL OF WORCESTER, AS ADMIRAL OF THE FLEETS OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND FOR LIFE, 20TH NOVEMBER, 1 HEN. IV. 1399.

The King to all to whom &c., greeting.—Know ye, that, whereas we late by our letters-patent appointed our beloved and faithful THOMAS PERCY, EARL OF WORCESTER, our Admiral of the fleet of ships, as well in England as in Ireland, during our pleasure, with power to hear plaints of all and singular touching those matters which concern the office of Admiral, and to take cognizance of maritime causes, and to do justice, and to punish and imprison delinquents according to their demerits, and to deliver prisoners who shall be to be delivered, and to assemble ships and boats of war as many as shall be necessary, of whatsoever burthen, as often as needful, and to choose and take and put therein as many mariners and others as shall be necessary, for the same ships, and to restrain and chastise such mariners as shall be rebellious or disobedient, and to do and exercise all other things which unto the office of Admiral appertained, as of right and according to the maritime law shall be to be done; and to substitute and depute in his place those whom he shall know to be fit persons therefore, to do all and singular the premises so often as he shall not be at leisure for the same, as shall seem most expedient unto him: provided always, that the same Admiral, or his substitutes or deputies, shall neither do nor in any wise attempt aught contrary to the form of the statute in the Parliament of the Lord Richard the Second after the Conquest, late King of England, enacted, by colour of our letters aforesaid, as in the same letters is more fully contained. We, willing to provide for the indemnity of the aforesaid Admiral in this behalf, have granted to the aforesaid Admiral that he shall in nowise render any account unto us by reason of his office aforesaid by occasion of the statute aforesaid otherwise than other Admirals of our realm of England before the making of the same statute were accustomed to render. In testimony whereof, &c., witness the King at Westminster the 20th day of November. By the King himself.[a]

The Commission to the Earl of Kent as Admiral of England on the 8th of May, 8 Hen. IV., 1407, recites that the patent of John Earl of Somerset as Admiral of the North and West for life had been surrendered and cancelled, and contains the clause referring to the statute of the 15th Ric. II.

[a] Rot. Patent. 1 Hen. IV. pt. 6, m. 36.

COMMISSION TO SIR THOMAS CAREW TO COMMAND THE MEN-AT-ARMS AND ARCHERS ON AN EXPEDITION AT SEA, IN THE ABSENCE OF THE ADMIRAL OF ENGLAND, DATED ON THE 18TH OF FEBRUARY 1415.

After reciting that the enemy were assembled in large numbers and with great fleets, with which they proposed to invade England, the Commission proceeds thus:—

"We, for that our most dear uncle, Thomas Earl of Dorset, our Admiral of England, is at present attending to our affairs in parts beyond sea by our command, who would set forth to sea to resist the malice of our enemies if he were personally present, willing otherwise to provide for the same in his absence, and fully confiding in your fidelity and prudence, we have appointed you Captain and Leader of our men-at-arms and archers whom we purpose to send to sea at present for this end."

The commission then gives him, and nearly in the usual words, the powers of an Admiral.[a]

A similar Commission was issued on the same day to SIR GILBERT TALBOT of Irchenfeld.[b]

COMMISSION TO JOHN EARL OF HUNTINGDON, TO COMMAND THE MEN-AT-ARMS AND ARCHERS, IN AN EXPEDITION AT SEA, 5TH OF MAY, 4 HEN. V., 1416.

The King appointed JOHN EARL OF HUNTINGDON "his Lieutenant and Leader of men-at-arms and archers in the East and West, who are about to set forth in his company, in the King's service to sea, to resist the enemy;" giving him full power to arrest all delinquents or rebels, and commanding all sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, &c. to be intendant, counselling, and aiding him; but he was not to arrest any of the retinue of Sir John Clifford or Sir Edward Courtney.[c] No power was given him to arrest ships.

[a] Fœdera, IX. 202. [b] Ibid. [c] Ibid. 344.

COMMISSION TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD, TO COMMAND AN EXPEDITION AT SEA ON THE 22ND OF JULY, 4 HEN. V., 1416.

By this Commission the King appointed his brother, John Duke of Bedford, his "Lieutenant at sea, and Leader of the men-at-arms and archers about to set forth to resist the enemy," and gave him full power to pursue and capture their ships, and bring them to England, and to do and exercise all that to such Lieutenant and Leader should appertain, and also commanding all and singular Lords, Admirals, captains, masters, and mariners of ships, to be obedient and intendant to him.[a]

The Commission to WALTER LORD HUNGERFORD, on the 26th of July 1416, appointing him Admiral of the fleet of ships in the expedition of the Duke of Bedford, "in his present voyage on the sea," contained the usual proviso, referring to the statute of the 15th Ric. II., and a clause reserving the rights of the Earl of Dorset as Admiral of England.[b]

COMMISSION TO THE EARL OF MARCH AS THE KING'S LIEUTENANT AT SEA, 20TH JULY, 5 HEN. V., 1417.

On the 20th July 1417 the King appointed EDMUND EARL OF MARCH AND ULSTER his Lieutenant at sea, to conduct all the ships and vessels which cross over with the King back to England as soon as the King landed at a port of safety beyond sea, and to bring back the same ships and vessels with soldiers and others, who were afterwards to come to the King to parts beyond sea in the same, as soon as may conveniently be done, and gave him all the usual powers of Admirals, with the proviso respecting the rights of the Duke of Exeter, as Admiral of England.[c]

COMMISSION TO THE EARL OF HUNTINGDON AS THE KING'S LIEUTENANT AT SEA, ABOUT THE 25TH OF JULY, 5 HEN. V., 1417.

The King to all and singular sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, &c.—Know ye, that we, fully confiding in the fidelity, &c. of our most dear cousin, JOHN EARL OF HUNTINGDON, have appointed, ordained, and deputed the

[a] Fœdera, IX. 371. [b] Rot. Patent. 4 Hen. V. m. 19.
[c] Fœdera, IX. 467.

same earl to be our Lieutenant to survey and govern the fleet of ships in our service at sea during our absence, giving him by tenor of the presents full power to hear plaints of all and singular of those matters which touch the office of Admiral, and to take cognizance of maritime causes, and to do justice, and to chastise, punish, and imprison delinquents according to their demerits, and to deliver those and others imprisoned who shall be to be delivered, and to do and execute all things which to the office of Admiral appertain in this behalf, as of right and according to the maritime law shall be to be done: but, nevertheless, we will not, and it is not our intention, that our most dear uncle, the Duke of Exeter, our Admiral, be prejudiced in aught which relates to his right of Admiralty for the term of his life, by colour of these presents; and, therefore, we command you and each of you, strictly enjoining that to the same Earl, in doing and executing the premises all and singular, ye be intendant, counselling, and aiding so often and as by the aforesaid Earl hereunto on our behalf ye or any of you shall be warned. In testimony whereof, &c. Witness the King at Porchester. By the King himself.[a]

COMMISSION TO SIR WILLIAM BARDOLF, AS ADMIRAL OF A FLEET, 2ND OF MARCH, 8 HEN. V., 1421.

The King appointed SIR WILLIAM BARDOLF Admiral of the fleet during pleasure, giving him, in the usual words, full power to hear plaints, take cognizance of maritime causes, do justice, and punish delinquents; to assemble ships and small vessels of war, to choose mariners and others, and put them on board the said ships; to chastise rebellious seamen, and to do all that appertained to the office of Admiral; "provided always, that by the colour or force of the presents nothing should be done to the prejudice of the Duke of Exeter, who held the office of Admiral of England, Ireland, and Aquitaine for the term of his life.[b]

[a] Rot. Patent 5 Hen. V. m. 22. This Commission is undated.
[b] Fœdera, 68.

XIII.

CATALOGUE OF ADMIRALS OF ENGLISH FLEETS FROM THE REIGN OF KING EDWARD THE SECOND TO THE END OF THE REIGN OF KING HENRY THE FIFTH, 1377 TO 1422.

[*Note.*—The names of those thus (*) marked do not occur in the Lists of Admirals by Spelman or Prynne, nor in any other List.]

EDWARD THE THIRD.

North.	West.
An. 1.—John Perbroun, Admiral, 21st April 1327. (Page 2, *ante.*)	Waresius de Valoignes, Captain and Admiral, 24th May 1327. (Page 3, *ante.*)
An. 7.—*John Perbroun, Captain and Admiral of the King's fleet for the Scottish war, 6th April 1333. (Page 6, *ante.*)	
———*Henry Randolph, of Great Yarmouth, Captain and Admiral of all ships in the King's service going to Scotland, 6th April 1333. (Page 6, *ante.*)	
———	Sir William Clinton, Captain and Admiral of the Cinque Ports, and of all other places westward of the Thames, 16th July, 1333. (Page 7, *ante.*)
An. 9.—Sir John Norwich, Admiral, 2nd January 1335. (Page 8, *ante.*)	Sir Roger Higham, Admiral, 2nd January 1335. (Page 8, *ante.*)

North.	West.
An. 9.—*Sir John Howard, Captain and Admiral of the King's fleet of ships of Great Yarmouth and of all the other ports north of the Thames, 4th April 1335. (Page 9, *ante.*)	*Sir Robert Holand, Captain and Admiral of the fleet on the Coast of Wales and westward to the port of Carlingford in Ireland, 6th April 1335. (Page 9, *ante.*)
———	*Sir John Athy, Captain and Admiral of the Irish fleet, 24th April 1335. (Page 10, *ante.*)
———	*Sir John Cobham, Captain and Admiral of the ships of the Cinque Ports and of other ships westward of the Thames, 6th of July, 1335. (Page 12, *ante.*)
———	*Peter Bard, Captain and Admiral of the ships of the Cinque Ports and of other Western ports to proceed against the Scots, 6th of July 1335. (Page 12, *ante.*)
An. 10.—Sir Thomas Ughtred, Captain and Admiral of the fleet, as well of ships of Great Yarmouth as other ports north of the Thames, 10th February 1336. (Page 14, *ante.*)	
———Sir John Norwich, Captain and Admiral, 10th April 1336. (Page 15, *ante.*)	Sir Geoffrey Say, Captain and Admiral, 10th April 1336. (Page 15, *ante.*)

North.	West.
An. 10.—*Sir John Roos, Captain and Admiral of the ships of Great Yarmouth and of all the other northern ports, 8th November 1336. (Page 21.)	
——— Sir Robert Ufford, and Sir John Roos, appointed jointly and severally Admirals of the King's northern fleet, 14th January 1337. (Page 25, *ante.*)[a]	Sir William Montacute, Captain and Admiral, 14th January 1337. (Page 25, *ante.*)
An. 11.—.....	Sir Geoffrey Say, and Sir Otho Grandison, appointed Captains of the Western fleet, 30th May 1337. (Page 27, *ante.*)
——— Sir Walter Manny, Captain and Admiral, 11th August 1337. (Page 29, *ante.*)	Sir Bartholomew Burghersh, Captain and Admiral, 11th August 1337. (Page 29, *ante.*)
An. 12.—Sir Thomas Drayton, Admiral,[b] 28th July 1338. (Page 35, *ante.*)	Peter Bard, Admiral, 28th July 1338. (Page 35, *ante.*)
An. 13.—Sir Robert Morley, Admiral, 18th February 1339. (Page 39, *ante.*)	Sir William Trussell, Admiral, 18th February 1339. (Page 39, *ante.*)

[a] *Nicholas Usdemer, a Genoese, appointed Vice-Admiral of the King's fleet of galleys and of all other ships belonging to Aquitaine, 16th January 1337. (Page 25, *ante.*)

*Peter de Puyano appears to have been Admiral of a fleet from Bayonne, in March 1337, and again in August 1341. (Page 27, *ante.*)

[b] In the notice of their appointment on the Gascon Rolls, they are called *Vice*-Admirals, but both Drayton and Bard were both styled "Admirals" on the 4th of October 1338. Fœdera, II. 1060.

North.	West.
An. 14.—Sir Robert Morley, Captain and Admiral, 6th March 1340.[a]	Sir Richard Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, Admiral, 20th February 1340. (Pages 45, 46, *ante.*)
An. 15.—.....	Sir William Clinton, Earl of Huntingdon, Captain and Admiral of the Western fleet, 12th June 1341.[b]
——Sir Robert Morley, Admiral, 5th April 1341.[c]	
An. 16.—.....	Sir John Montgomery, Admiral, 10th April 1342.[d]
——Sir William Trussell, Admiral, 20th December 1342.[e]	Sir Robert Beaupel, Admiral, 20th December 1342.[e]
An. 18.—Sir Robert Ufford, Earl of Suffolk, Admiral, 8th May 1344.[f] (Page 83, *ante.*)	Sir Reginald Cobham, Captain and Admiral, 8th May 1344. (Page 83, *ante.*)
	Richard Earl of Arundel, Admiral, 23rd February 1345. (Page 85, *ante.*)[g]

[a] Rot. Vascon. p. 104.

[b] Rot. Vascon. p. 110. The Rolls of Parliament in January 1340 state that the Earl of Huntingdon was to be then made Admiral of the ships of the Cinque Ports and in the river Thames. Vide p. 45, *ante.*

[c] Rot. Vascon. 109; but the document in the Fœdera (II. 1156), and referred to in p. 71, *ante*, calls Sir Robert Morley Admiral of the *Western* fleet. He evidently, however, commanded the *Northern* fleet.

An. 15.—Peter de Puyano was again made Admiral of the Bayonnese fleet on the 29th of August 1341. (Page 70, *ante.*)

[d] The date of his appointment has not been ascertained, but he was described as Admiral of the Western fleet on the 10th of April 1342, (Rot. Scot. I. 625,) and he held that command in August following. Vide p. 79, *ante.*

[e] Rot. Franc. p. 25. Vide p. 80, *ante.*

[f] Spelman states that the Earl of Suffolk was reappointed on the 23rd of February 1346; but more probably on that day in 1345, when the Earl of Arundel was certainly made Admiral of the Western fleet.

[g] *An.* 20.—Peter Donyngan was made Admiral of the Bayonnese fleet in March 1346. (Page 87, *ante.*)

North.	West.
An. 21.—Sir John Howard, Admiral, 8th March 1347. (Page 95, *ante.*)	Sir John Montgomery, Admiral, 23rd February 1347. (Page 95, *ante.*)
An. 22.—Sir Walter Manny, Admiral, 14th March 1348. (Page 99, *ante.*)	Sir Reginald Cobham, Admiral, 14th March 1348. (Page 99, *ante.*)
——Sir Robert Morley, Admiral, 6th June 1348.[a]	
An. 23.—.....	Sir John Beauchamp, K.G., Admiral of a fleet off Calais, 17th August 1349. (Page 101, *ante.*)
An. 24.—Sir Robert Morley, Admiral, 22nd July 1350.[b] (Page 103, *ante.*)	
An. 25.—Sir William de Bohun, Earl of Northampton, Captain and Admiral, 8th March 1351. (Page 114, *ante.*)	Henry Duke of Lancaster, Captain and Admiral, 8th March 1351.[c] (Page 114, *ante.*)
An. 28.—.....	*John Gybon, Admiral of a squadron, March 1354. (Page 116, *ante.*)
An. 29.—Sir Robert Morley, Admiral, 5th March 1355. (Page 117, *ante.*)	Sir John Beauchamp, Admiral, 5th March 1355. (Page 117, *ante.*)[d]

[a] Fœdera, III. 162.

[b] Spelman says that Robert de Causton was made Admiral of the Northern fleet in 1350; but he gives no authority, and none has been found for the statement. Spelman places Morley's re-appointment in 1351.

[c] Spelman states, that Thomas Earl of Warwick was made Admiral of the Western fleet in the 26th Edw. III., 1352, but he cites no authority for the statement.

[d] *An.* 30.—Robert Ledrede, Admiral of a fleet going to Gascony for wine, January 1356. (Page 121, *ante.*)

North.	West.
An. 30.—.....	Sir Guy Bryan, Admiral, 1st May 1356. (Page 121, *ante.*)[a]
An. 34.—.....	*Sir John Paveley, Prior of St. John of Jerusalem, Captain and Leader of a fleet to resist invasion, 26th March 1360. (Page 126, *ante.*)

————SIR JOHN BEAUCHAMP, K.G., Admiral of the King's Southern, Northern, and Western fleets, 18th July 1360. (Page 127, *ante.*)

An. 35.—SIR ROBERT HERLE, Admiral of the Southern, Northern, and Western fleets, 26th January 1361. (Page 128, *ante.*)

An. 38.—SIR RALPH SPIGURNELL, Admiral of the Southern, Northern, and Western fleets, 7th July 1364. (Page 129, *ante.*)

An. 43.—Sir Nicholas Tamworth, Admiral, 12th June 1369. (Page 130, *ante.*)	Sir Robert Ashton, Admiral, 28th April 1369. (Page 130, *ante.*)
An. 44.—John Lord Nevillle, Admiral, 30th May 1370. (Page 132, *ante.*)	Sir Guy Bryan, Admiral, 6th February 1370,[b] and again on the 30th May 1370.[c] (Page 132, *ante.*)
An. 45.—Sir Ralph Ferrers, Admiral,[d] 6th October 1371. (Page 137, *ante.*)	Sir Robert Ashton, Admiral, 6th October 1371. (Page 135, *ante.*)
An. 46.—Sir William Neville, Admiral, 7th March 1372. (Page 140, *ante.*)	Sir Philip Courtenay, Admiral, 7th March 1372. (Page 140, *ante.*)

[a] Robert Drouss, of Cork, was made Admiral of the Irish fleet, 18th August 1356. Vide page 121, *ante.*

[b] Sir Guy Bryan was at sea early in January 1370, in command of a squadron. Vide pp. 132, 133, *ante.*

[c] Rot. Franc. 44 Edw. III. m. 27.

[d] On the 8th July 1370, Sir Ralph Ferrers was made Admiral of the King's fleet going to Brittany. Vide p. 133, *ante.*

North.	West.
An. 50.—William Earl of Suffolk, Admiral, 16th July 1376. (Page 154, *ante.*)	William Earl of Salisbury, Admiral, 16th July 1376. (Page 154, *ante.*)[a]
——— Sir Michael de la Pole, Admiral, 24th November 1376. (Page 155, *ante.*)	Sir Robert Hales, Prior of St. John's of Jerusalem, Admiral, 24th November 1376. (Page 155, *ante.*)

RICHARD THE SECOND.

An. 1.—Sir Michael de la Pole, Admiral, 14th August 1377. (Rot. Franc. 1 Ric. II. p. 1. m. 30.)	Sir Robert Hales, Prior of St. John of Jerusalem, Admiral, 14th August 1377. (Rot. Franc. 1 Ric. II. p. 1. m. 30.)
——— Thomas Earl of Warwick, Admiral, 5th December 1377. (Rot. Franc. 1 Ric. II. p. 1. m. 9.)	Richard Earl of Arundel, Admiral, 5th December 1377. (Rot. Franc. 1 Ric. II. p. 1. m. 9.)
An. 2.—Sir Thomas Percy, Admiral, 5th November 1378. (Rot. Franc. 2 Ric. II. m. 11.)	Sir Hugh Calveley, Admiral, 10th September 1378. (Rot. Franc. 2 Ric. II. m. 10.)
An. 3.—Sir William de Elmham, Admiral, 8th April 1380. (Rot. Franc. 3 Ric. II. m. 9.)	Sir Philip Courtenay, Admiral, 8th March 1380. (Rot. Franc. 3 Ric. II. m. 9.)
An. 5.—.....	Sir John Roche, Admiral of a fleet from Southampton westward, 22nd of May 1382. (Rot. Franc. 5 Ric. II. m. 3.)

[a] On the 16th of February 1373, the Earl of Salisbury was appointed Captain of all ships and barges then going to sea.

North.	West.
An. 6.—Sir Walter Fitz Walter, Admiral, 26th October 1382. (Rot. Fr. 6 Ric. II. m. 21.)	Sir John Roche, Admiral, 26th October 1382. (Rot. Franc. 6 Ric. II. m. 21.)
An. 7.—Henry Earl of Northumberland, Admiral, 2nd December 1383. (Rot. Franc. 7 Ric. II. m. 17.)	Edward Earl of Devon, Admiral, 13th November 1383. (Rot. Franc. 7 Ric. II. m. 17.)
An. 8.—Sir Thomas Percy, Admiral, 29th January 1385. (Rot. Franc. 8 Ric. II. m. 12.)	Sir John Radington, Prior of St. John of Jerusalem, Admiral, 29th January 1385. (Rot. Fr. 8 Ric. II. m. 12.)
An. 9.—Sir Philip Darcy, Admiral, 22nd February 1386. (Rot. Franc. 9 Ric. II. m. 25.)	Sir Thomas Trivet, Admiral, 22nd February 1386. (Rot. Franc. 9 Ric. II. m. 25.)
An. 10.—RICHARD EARL OF ARUNDEL, Admiral of the Western and Northern fleets, 10th December 1386, and held that office until the 18th May 1389. (Rot. Franc. 10 Ric. II. m. 18.)	
An. 12.—John Lord Beaumont, Admiral, 20th May 1389. (Rot. Franc. 12 Ric. II. m. 4.)	John Earl of Huntingdon, Admiral, 18th May 1389. (Rot. Franc. 12 Ric. II. m. 4.)
———SIR JOHN ROCHES, Admiral of the Western and Northern fleets, 31st May 1389. (Rot. Franc. 12 Ric. II. m. 4.)	
An. 13.—John Lord Beaumont, Admiral, 22nd June 1389. (Rot. Franc. 13 Ric. II. m. 26.)	John Earl of Huntingdon, Admiral, 22nd June 1389. (Rot. Franc. 13 Ric. II. m. 26.)
An. 14.—Edward Earl of Rutland, Admiral, 22nd March 1391. (Rot. Franc. 14 Ric. II. m. 3.)	

North. West.

An. 15.—EDWARD EARL OF RUTLAND, afterwards DUKE OF ALBEMARLE, Admiral of the Northern and Western fleets, 29th November 1391. (Rot. Franc. 15 Ric. II. m. 7.)

An. 21.—JOHN MARQUIS OF DORSET, appointed Admiral of the Northern and Western fleets for life, 9th May 1398, (Rot. Patent. 21 Ric. II. p. 3. m. 23,)[a] and Admiral of the Irish fleet for life, 2nd February 1398. (Rot. Patent. 21 Ric. II. p. 3. m. 23.)[b]

HENRY THE FOURTH.

An. 1.—THOMAS EARL OF WORCESTER, Admiral of the Northern and Western fleets, and Admiral of the Irish fleet, 15th November 1399. (Rot. Pat. 1 Hen. IV. p. 4. m. 29.)

An. 2.—RICHARD LORD GREY OF CODNOR, Admiral, 26th April 1401. (Rot. Franc. 2 Hen. IV. m. 5; Rot. Pat. 1 Hen. IV. p. 3. m. 24, 33.)

SIR THOMAS REMPSTON, Admiral, 21st April 1401. (Rot. Franc. 2 Hen. IV. m. 5; Rot. Pat. 1 Hen. IV. p. 3. m. 24, 33.)

An. 5.—SIR THOMAS BEAUFORT, Admiral, 18th November 1403. (Rot. Pat. 5 Hen. IV. m. 24.)

THOMAS LORD BERKELEY, Admiral, 5th November 1403. (Rot. Pat. 5 Hen. IV. p. 1. m. 18.)[c]

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[a] *An.* 17.—Matthew Swetenham and Nicholas Macclefield made Admirals of Ireland, 30th August 1393.

[b] *An.* 22.—Thomas Earl of Worcester, Admiral of the King's fleet in Ireland, 16th January 1399. (Rot. Pat. 22 Ric. II. p. 2. m. 16; Ibid. p. 3. m. 19.)

[c] *An.* 5 Hen. IV.—James Dartasso made Admiral in Ireland, 5th July 1404. (Rot. Pat. 5 Hen. IV. p. 2. m. 10.)

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North. West.

An. 6.—SIR THOMAS OF LANCASTER, second son of the King, afterwards created Duke of Clarence. Appointed Admiral of England, 20th February 1405, (Fœdera, VIII. 389,) and held that office until the 28th of April 1406.

An. 7.—NICHOLAS BLACKBURNE, ESQUIRE, Admiral, 28th April 1406. (Fœdera, VIII. 439.)

RICHARD CLYDEROW, ESQUIRE, Admiral, 28th April 1406.

An. 8.—JOHN EARL OF SOMERSET, Admiral of the Northern and Western fleets, 23rd December 1406. (Rot. Patent. 8 Hen. IV. m. 10.)

——— EDMUND EARL OF KENT, Admiral of England, 8th May 1407. (Rot. Pat. 8 Hen. IV. p. 2. m. 17.) Slain, 15th September 1408.

An. 9.—SIR THOMAS BEAUFORT, Admiral of the Northern and Western fleets for life, 21st September 1408. (Rot. Pat. 10 Hen. IV. p. 2. m. 9.) Appointed Admiral of England, Ireland, Aquitaine, and Picardy for life, 27th July 1409. (Rot. Pat. 10 Hen. IV. p. 2. m. 9, and 11 Hen. IV. p. 2. m. 4.) Lord Chancellor from the 31st January 1410 to the 5th January 1412. Created Earl of Dorset, 5th July 1411.

HENRY THE FIFTH.[a]

An. 1, 1413.—THOMAS EARL OF DORSET reappointed Admiral of England, Ireland, Aquitaine, and Picardy, 3rd June, 1413. Created Duke of Exeter, 18th November 1416. Died 27th December 1426.

[a] Spelman does not give a list of Admirals in the reign of Henry the Fifth, but says in the margin, "desiderantur hic forte nonnulli," and no list of Admirals in that reign has been found.

An. 4. ——————THOMAS LORD MORLEY, Admiral of the fleet going from London to Southampton, 6th July 1416. (Rot. Pat. 4 Hen. V. m. 22.) [a]

An. 5.——————SIR WALTER HUNGERFORD, appointed Admiral of the fleet of ships in the expedition under the Duke of Bedford, the King's Lieutenant at sea, 26th July 1416. (Rot. Pat. 5 Hen. V. m. 19.) [b]

An. 8.——————SIR WILLIAM BARDOLF, appointed Admiral of a fleet, 2nd March 1421. (Fœdera, x. 68.)

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[a] *An.* 2.—Patrick Coterell and James Cornewalsche were appointed the King's Admirals of Ireland from Wykynglone Head to Leperisylond for their lives, 28th September 1414. (Rot. Pat. 2 Hen. V. p. 2. m. 22.)

[b] For the reason stated in p. 450, *ante*, it is very doubtful if the Earl of Huntingdon, John Lord Clifford, and Sir Edward Courtenay had the powers of Admirals by their commissions as the King's Lieutenants on the sea in May 1416; and though the under-mentioned persons had these powers, it is by no means certain that they were in fact *Admirals*;—

An. 2.—.....SIR THOMAS CAREW, } appointed Captains and
SIR GILBERT TALBOT, } Leaders of men-at-arms at sea in the absence of the Earl of Dorset, with all the usual powers of Admirals, 18th February 1415. (Fœdera, IX. 202.)

An. 5.— .....EDMUND EARL OF MARCH, appointed the King's Lieutenant at sea to bring the fleet to England, and then to conduct it again with troops to the King, 20th July, 5 Hen. V., 1417. (Fœdera, IX. 467.)

JOHN EARL OF HUNTINGDON, appointed the King's Lieutenant of a fleet, with all the powers of Admiral during the King's absence: no date, but apparently about the 25th of July 1417. (Rot. Pat. 5 Hen. V. m. 22.)

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

LONDON:—Printed by S. & J. BENTLEY, WILSON, and FLEY, Bangor House, Shoe Lane.

00036227

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 13 February, 2016